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THE ENGLISH DRAMA



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The Belles-Lettres Series

SECTION III

THE ENGLISH DRAMA

FROM ITS BEGINNING TO THE PRESENT DAY

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SEJANUS

By BEN JONSON

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Life

BENJAMIN JONSON, or Ben Jonson, as his own and following ages with his approval have delighted to call him, was born, apparently in Westminster, in 1572-3. His ancestry was Scotch ; according to his own statement, " his Grandfather came from Carlisle, and, he thought, from Anandale to it : he served King Henry 8, and was a gentleman. His Father losed all his estate under Queen Marie, having been cast in prison and forfeitted ; at last turn'd Minister : so he was a minister's son. He himself was posthumous born, a moneth after his father's decease." About two years later his mother married again, this time a master-bricklayer. The rudiments of his education Jonson received in a private school, whence he was sent to Westminster School, it is thought at the cost of Camden, the great antiquary, then second master at that institution ; at any rate, ✓ Camden exercised a great and beneficial influence over his studies, an influence gratefully remembered and acknowledged. An untrustworthy tradition states that he passed from Westminster to Cambridge, where he was able to remain only a few weeks " for want of further maintenance." Later in life both Cambridge and Oxford gave ✓ him the M. A. as an honorary degree.

Jonson appears now to have become for a time his stepfather's assistant. This trade proving distasteful, he became a soldier, serving for a short time among the English contingent in the Netherlands. He was apparently back in London and married by 1592-4, and not long afterward his connection with the stage began. Tradition again states that he was at first an unsuccessful actor ; however this may have been, he seems to have been a regular writer for the stage by 1597. In 1598 *Every Man in his Humour* was acted by

the Chamberlain's Company, Shakspeare, according to a pleasing but again untrustworthy legend, having been the one to recommend the acceptance of this delightful play.

At this point in his career Jonson had the misfortune to kill in a duel, the grounds of which are unknown, a fellow-actor by the name of Gabriel Spencer. As a result, he was imprisoned and convicted of felony by his own confession ; he pleaded his clergy, forfeited his goods and chattels, was branded on the left thumb, and set free. In prison he had been converted by a priest to the Roman faith, to which he adhered for twelve years, at the end of that time returning to the Church of England. That his conversion and re-conversion were sincere we have every reason to believe. In his later years he was a "diligent student of theology."

The next episode in his life was that of the "War of the Theatres," conducted by Jonson on one side and Marston and Dekker on the other, as principals, with other playwrights as auxiliaries and the stage as battle-ground. It is well-nigh impossible to learn with whom the first fault lay ; *Every Man out of his Humour*, 1599, *Cynthia's Revels*, 1600, and *The Poetaster*, 1601, represent Jonson's share in the war. From this field he turned to tragedy, and in 1603 *Sejanus* was brought out.

With the accession of James begins Jonson's long series of masks, the first being *The Satyr* in 1603. Jonson was the greatest and the most prolific of mask writers, and though we cannot to-day taste the full flavor of these entertainments, we can appreciate the learning and the poetic talent they so freely display. Moreover, from them we can understand how Jonson rapidly acquired an important position as regards the amusements of the Court, and was thereby brought into close relations with the nobility. Thus the Earl of Pembroke sent him twenty pounds a year to buy books, and with the Lord d'Aubigny, to whom *Sejanus* is dedicated, he lived at one time five years. What became of his family in the meantime, we can only

conjecture, for, except that he begat sons and daughters, none of whom appears to have survived him, we know little of his domestic life. He did indeed tell Drummond that his wife was "a shrew, but honest," i. e., chaste.

Before, however, he had reached this position, namely in 1605, he again became acquainted with the inside of a prison, though this time voluntarily. Chapman and Marston, joint-authors with him of *Eastward Hoe*, were imprisoned for unwisely satirizing the Scotch in that play, and though Jonson had no hand in the offending portions, he accompanied them through a feeling of honor. In a short time all were released, though yet another incarceration was apparently necessary in order that he should learn how circumspect must be the walk of a man of letters under a government of arbitrary powers.¹

In the same year he was asked as a Catholic to render certain political services to the state, of the exact nature of which we are not informed, though they had something to do with the Gunpowder Plot, and from this time on he lived in favor with the Court, at least for many years. In 1605 he produced *Volpone*, in 1610 *Epicoene* and *The Alchemist*, in 1611 *Catiline*, in 1614 *Bartholomew Fair*, in 1616 *The Devil is an Ass*. In the last-mentioned year he published the first collected edition of his plays, with regard to which he said in 1619 that not half of his comedies were in print. We have his own statement to the effect that all his plays gained him not more than two hundred pounds. Until 1625 he wrote nothing more for the stage.

By this time Jonson had become the principal man of letters of his day, a reward naturally due his strong sense, wide learning, robust character, and recognized dramatic genius. That he had enemies need not surprise us, nor that the public failed to approve all of his

¹ Contrast *Introduction*, *The Alchemist*, *Eastward Hoe*, Belles-Lettres Series.

plays, more especially those of his later years. In the eyes of discriminating critics, indeed, these facts were held honorable testimonies to his worth, and in no degree did they prevent acknowledgment of his authority.

About 1613 he went to France as tutor to one of the sons of Sir Walter Raleigh, and in 1618-19 he made the famous journey on foot to Scotland, visiting among others Drummond of Hawthornden, whose notes of their conversations form perhaps our most important source of information about the dramatist. In 1621 he obtained the reversion of the office of Master of the Revels, though he did not live to enjoy it.

✓ Jonson's means of life were the small proceeds from his plays, the fees derived from the composition and the production of his masks, occasional presents from his patrons, and a small pension granted him in 1616 by James. By the end of the reign, Jonson, who did not hoard his gold, found it necessary to revert to the stage as a means of livelihood. In 1625 came out *The Staple of News*, in 1629 *The New Inn*, in 1633 *The Magnetic Lady* and *The Tale of a Tub*, none of which could be called a success. A slight increase in his pension and a temporary appointment as City Chronologer were of no great assistance, and Jonson was compelled to ask aid from his friends among the nobility. Disease had come upon him in the shape of palsy in 1626, later complicated with a dropsy, and the last year or two of his life were spent on a sick-bed. He died August 6, 1637, and was buried in Westminster Abbey.

✓ Among his papers were found the fragmentary *Sad Shepherd*, the *Timber*, and other less important compositions; a fire that destroyed his library in 1622-3(?) destroyed also many works whose loss is to be deeply deplored.

Introduction

Sejanus and *Catiline* bear everywhere the stamp of their author's solid and massive genius. The trenchant vigor of their style is his alone among all writers of English tragedy. The extraordinary assimilative talent that they display, only Milton perhaps has manifested in an equal degree. In certain portions are exhibited at full the powers of the greatest master of satirical drama the English stage has seen. The characters are sharply drawn and energetically maintained. The dialogue is freighted with thought, the personages are 'known, famous, and true,' their deeds of moment in the world's history. Yet these plays, like many another great Elizabethan tragedy, have disappeared from the stage and, in spite of our modern revival of letters, are not often read.

I make this full and reverent acknowledgment to forestall any accusation of mere petulant faultfinding in the pages that follow. It so happens that some of the points selected for special comment help to explain the phenomenon just noted, and permit much to be said that is almost absurdly unjust if applied to the whole of Jonson's work. But three hundred years give a long perspective in matters of taste, and the nineteenth century may very properly note as defects of his tragedy features that Jonson himself considered eminent beauties. *Securus judicat orbis terrarum*: after all, these dramas have disappeared from the stage.¹

¹ J'ajouterai seulement que sans sortir de l'humilité, on peut remarquer des fautes dans les livres des hommes illustres. On ne laisse

I

Throughout his comedies, Jonson's treatment of character remains fundamentally the same: a psychologic theory, carried out with varying consistency, furnishes the groundwork in the portrayal of the individual. The proper field of comedy is the field of 'humours,' and a humour is not a mere whim, but a quality so completely predominant that it gives the tone to the disposition, influences all action, and, as it were, fixes the whole man. It is at once radical and permanent.¹

Such a conception has its place among the many phenomena of complex human nature; yet we may not of course accept it as completely formulating human nature in the abstract, nor, except rarely, in the concrete; and that Jonson himself realized this fact, after he had reduced his theory to absurdity in *Cynthia's Revels*, we have the very best of ground for believing. Yet matured reflection did not lead him to abandon the principle, however he may have modified the practice. Almost at the close of his dramatic career we find him stating it once more and emphasizing the consistency with which he had adhered to it.

"*Damplay*. But, why *Humours Reconciled*, I would fain know?

Boy. I can satisfy you there too, if you will. But perhaps you desire not to be satisfied?

pas pour cela de les regarder de bas en haut à perte de vue." Bayle, Pref. to the *Dictionary*.

¹ *Every Man out of his Humour*, Induction to Act 1; Notes to the *Masque of Hymen*; see Ward, II, 347, note 1, where Pope's notion of the Ruling Passion is compared; Spingarn, *Seventeenth Century Critical Essays*, Introduction, p. lviii ff, gives the development in meaning of the term 'humour.'

Dam. No ! Why should you conceive so, boy ?

Boy. My conceit is not ripe yet ; I'll tell you that anon. The author beginning his studies of this kind, with *Every Man in his Humour* ; and after *Every Man out of his Humour* ; and since, continuing in all his plays, especially in those of the comic thread, whereof the *New Inn* was the last, some recent humours still, or manners of men, that went along with the times ; finding himself now near the close, or shutting up of his circle, hath fancied to himself, in idea, this *Magnetic Mistress*," etc.¹

Very brief consideration shows that in the tragedies *Sejanus* and *Catiline* the figures are conceived with an equal simplicity. Just as in *Every Man out of his Humour*, we can easily classify each important personage : Tiberius embodies tyranny gaining its ends through a profound dissimulation ; Sejanus is the restlessly ambitious courtier, rising by complex intrigue ; Catiline represents the ambition that would climb by violence ; Cicero is a vain-glorious, but honest patriot. Catiline himself enumerates the 'humours' of his assistants—Lentulus, a fatuous and pliable vanity, Cethegus, a braggart violence, and so on. Another mark of this simplicity lies in the striking absence of internal conflict, and consequently of development in character. Tiberius, engaged in uprooting his own royal house ; Sejanus, practising murder as a fine art ; Livia, plotting with anxious care the death of her husband ; Catiline, devoting ruthlessly his country to fire and sword : not one is for an instant uncertain of his path. Like the forces of nature, they work ceaselessly, pitilessly, untiringly, to their ends, recognizing no consider-

¹ Induction to *Magnetic Lady, or Humours Reconciled*, 1633. The words *all* and *especially* in the quotation are particularly important.

ations of sympathy or justice or right feeling. There is change of side in these plays, no change of heart.¹

The radical fault in Jonson's conception lay not in the lack of power to depict character dramatically, so much as in the settled predominance of convention, the strict adherence to a traditionally authoritative system of ethical judgments. It was his nature to sit constantly in sentence upon his characters; into their minds he cannot be said to have penetrated; rather he peered in, curiously, attentively, systematically, but always with a theoretically complete knowledge of what he was to find and the marks by which it might be known. It is hardly true, to say, with Churchill (*Rosciad*, ll. 177-78),

"The book of man he read with nicest art,
And ransack'd all the secrets of the heart,"

for there were some secrets in which he felt no interest, whose existence, indeed, he perhaps did not suspect.

It was not, we might even go so far as to say, human personality that constituted for him the chief dra-

¹ Cf. *Discoveries*, ed. Schelling, p. 4: "Natures that are hardened to evil you shall sooner break than make straight; they are like poles that are crooked and dry, there is no attempting them." And again, p. 20: "It was impossible to reform these natures; they were dried and hardened in their ill. They may say they desired to leave it, but do not trust them," etc. One may in reply point out that dramatic change is not necessarily equivalent to reformation. Character is always in a state of unstable equilibrium, and dramatic change consists merely in the logically accomplished transition from one such state to another. Nor is age a decisive element in the question (the *locus classicus* is of course the tragedy of *Lear*). The point interests us here as illustrative of Jonson's habit of applying with too rigid consistency to his representation of human nature generalizations induced from his observation thereof.

matic problem, or that supplied him with his principal interest in human affairs. Life had moved

“out of a red flare of dreams,
Into a common light of common hours,”

and the changeful possibilities that lay perdué in every one he met never called upon him to discover them. He was a classicist, not simply, nor even mainly because classical literature gave him orientation, though that was the outward and visible sign, but because at bottom his temperament was scientific, and exceptions irritated his instinct for uniformity. The thought that in society, narrowly regarded, exception is the rule would have been repugnant to so orderly a mind; and, indeed, the world, as he looked upon it, was simple enough. One's duty lay plain. The law, the traditional code of morals, the customs of society, and, with sense and scholarship to befriend, the writings of the ancients—what more of guidance could be desired? What were the problems that could not be solved, like a case at common law, by recourse to a long line of moral precedents? Accordingly the classification of men offered few difficulties. Society was made up of the good and the bad, wise men and fools, dupes and knaves, upon all of whom Jonson pronounced the social, not the individual judgment. Harsh in condemnation, he invariably pointed a rigid finger of scorn at his evil characters, and it is only to satisfy his robust sense of dramatic effect that he draws for us so elaborate a picture of their adroit activity.

Naturally I do not mean that Jonson's plays are devoid of deft touches of interpretation, that indeed he does not in general display a fine discriminative sense in

what he makes his characters do and say. To mean that would be to misconceive the whole nature of his drama. At the same time, this fine discrimination has its well-marked limits, since the interplay of thought and feeling, however clearly indicated in the dialogue, rarely demands the exercise of the commentator's art.¹ Along with a sure sense of fitness in the vigorous expression of a certain range of intellectualized emotion, is found no exacting sense of subtle gradation among the emotions themselves, nor apparently any belief that outside the given range there lies much of consequence to the dramatist. The result is that at times his comedy fills us with an amazing sense of naturalness, of reality; and frequently striking traits of human nature are embodied in types that do not seem likely to be forgotten. To accomplish thus much is to achieve a very great dramatic feat; but it is not necessarily to fit one's self for the writing of tragedy.

It is consequently a marked feature of Jonson's drama, both tragedy and comedy, that his figures stand less in need of interpretation than do those of any other important Elizabethan dramatist. Not only does he make it almost impossible to misunderstand their motives and purposes, but the expression of those motives and purposes in acts does not involve internal struggle; there come into operation only simple motives, working directly and without complication.

If Jonson's theory was thus artistically defective, it

¹ The statement is substantially true, even though we recognize, as of course we must, that this very precision of style is what partly deprives the figures of their need for explanation.

had at least one compensating dramatic advantage. Each figure stands out in sharpest definition against its background, and by virtue of a cause that we find quite as strikingly operative in the comedies as in the tragedies, what may be called an intensive treatment of the 'humour' or fundamental trait. This is given every possible expression; it is repeatedly brought before us, now in the comment of a bystander, now in what the character says, now in what he does; it is set in different lights; it is complained of, it is censured, it is praised, vaunted, analyzed, condemned. Here Jonson's inventive genius had free play. In *Volpone*, the *Alchemist*, *Epicoene*, as well as in *Sejanus* and *Catiline*, is introduced a multiplicity of circumstances, of realistic details, each affording a fresh manifestation of the central conception. Over every speech and action Jonson maintains an incessant, anxious, even painful scrutiny, that strives, through minute consistency and a constantly repeated impression, to produce the effect of full and complete analysis, of totality. Thus the figure assumes a solidity and extension in reality foreign to it, its outlines grave themselves in the mind, an appearance of manifold self-expression is produced, and there results a wonderfully vivid portrayal of character. In other words, if Tiberius appears to possess individuality, and I must freely confess that he does so, it is just because he is so intensely typical.

The same fact may be differently regarded. Both Hamlet and Tiberius are consistently drawn, but consistency is attained in different ways. Hamlet is a complex being, whose various elements are held in delicate

equilibrium by the imaginative genius of the poet; he is not an assemblage of fixed qualities, but a volitional entity, and his emotional reaction varies with the changing circumstance of life. But the emotional reaction of Tiberius is constant, and he is troubled by no moods or scruples. Every emergency is met in the same way. His motives remain the same; and his language, his actions, his mental processes, are in every instance those of the hypocrite. Unity here is the result of a simple conception operating in a uniform manner under circumstances varied for the special purpose of displaying the uniformity of operation. Tiberius is consistent because he is formulated, and because Jonson had too vigilant an eye to permit the equation $x + y = T$ to be disturbed by the presence of an eccentric variable.

A glance at Jonson's sources lends the point emphasis. We cannot avoid observing that he did not see fit materially to alter his characters as they were given him by ancient history, nor to introduce, save in a few minor points, incidents not to be found there. The basis of nearly every figure is to be found in Dio or Juvenal, Tacitus or Sallust, as well as practically the entire action of each play. What then was the problem that Jonson, as tragic dramatist, set himself to solve in the portrayal of the individual?

As already suggested, this problem was in no sense of the phrase a problem of creation. In other words, Jonson had not to blaze a path through a wilderness of historical events, since that labor had already been performed, both by Tacitus and by Sallust, each of whom had striven to explain the events he narrated by his own

interpretation of character. Whoever is willing to build upon their foundation finds the creative task already achieved, and there remains for him merely to give dramatic expression to other men's conceptions, to see to it that none of his figures shall in a moment of inadvertence divest himself of the assigned rôle. Jonson's task, though accomplished in his characteristically thorough fashion, was then much simpler than it would otherwise have been.

Such facile acceptance of the historian's verdict, from which indeed society showed in that day no disposition to appeal, arose in part from a failure to distinguish clearly between the functions of history and tragedy, in part from the underlying conventionalism already mentioned. Unfortunately Jonson did not realize that the portrayal of Tiberius offers a problem that can be dramatically solved only through the exercise of the poetic rather than the historical imagination, and that must be solved afresh by every writer who proposes to handle the theme. Hypocrisy, the vulgar and superficial explanation of the extraordinary in character, suffices him. Yet, as poet and dramatist, it was not alone his duty, he should have felt an instinctive need, to reconstruct the figure of Tiberius for himself. He should have felt that the Tiberius of history was perhaps not the real Tiberius, that the accepted explanation of his recorded acts and sayings, whatever the true explanation, did not completely reconcile them. Not as matter of historical knowledge, but as subject-matter of the most distinctly creative of literary forms, his conception should have been sufficient to account rationally for acts that must

have had their source in a personality strangely elemented. That it was not such shows his instinctive, if not deliberate preference for the schematic treatment of human nature, even in the tragic field.¹

¹ Ward, II, 336-7, regards the character of Tiberius as inconsistent in one respect. "That in his old age Tiberius should have sunk into a victim or 'trophy' of degraded lust, is even less adequately accounted for in the play than it is as a historical relation." He overlooks, however, the fact, that Jonson is not depicting, and indeed nowhere successfully depicts, a *developing* character, and that above all he is simply accepting the old age of Tiberius as he finds that old age represented in his authorities. He does not undertake to tell how it was that Tiberius became a tyrant, or a 'victim of degraded lust'; he accepts him as such.

It may be asked what right we have to insist that Jonson should not have accepted this traditional estimate, that he should have gone beyond his authorities, and represented history otherwise than as professed historians represent it. A sufficient reply is that we do not quarrel with his representation of history, but with his interpretation of character. We neither ask him to alter facts, nor do we insist that his estimate of character shall necessarily differ from that of the historian; yet if the two coincide, the coincidence must be the result of dramatic intuition, of imaginative reconstruction on the basis of his own artistic insight, not of a submission to classical authority.

Jonson's own defense against this charge would doubtless have rested on the well-known passage of the *De Arte Poetica*, II. 119-127, wherein the poet who is putting on the stage history, or even traditional history, is told either to follow authority or at least not to contradict it. If you are depicting Achilles, let him be fierce, wrathful, moody; and inferentially, if your authorities tell you that Tiberius was a hypocrite, represent him so. The relation of Jonson's position to the doctrine of 'imitation' would form an interesting problem.

Boissier, *Tacite*, 177 ff., tells us clearly enough why it is that Tacitus gives us an incomplete portrait of Tiberius, and why it is that we have difficulty in reconciling the aspects of his character

Such changes, intentional or other, as he did introduce, seem to have been chiefly in the direction of simplicity. For example, Tiberius appears well-nigh devoid even of natural affection, and as utilizing his son's death merely as an occasion for a fresh display of hypocrisy. Yet his frantic efforts to ascertain at a later period the facts of Drusus' murder, as related by Suetonius,¹ show how deeply he was affected by it; nor apparently was his aversion to Agrippina and her sons anything like so simple an affair as the dramatist conceives. On the whole, the emperor in the ancient historians is a figure less easily understood than in Jonson's play, and once more Jonson fails to perceive the implications of his problem. The tendency to simplify, brought over as it is from comedy, does not harmonize with the new environment.

In the same way one feels certain that Sejanus has hardly had justice done him. If Sejanus really entertained the plans ascribed to him and carried them as near to completion as he is said to have done, he was

upon which Tacitus lays stress with those which find only occasional suggestion, with the result that his whole account of Tiberius oppresses us with a haunting sense of inadequacy. It is just this sense of inadequacy, inevitable for the modern readers of Tacitus, that Jonson, as poet and dramatist, should have likewise experienced and attempted to remove by some imaginative reconstruction of the principal figure of his play.

¹ To be sure, Suetonius, *Tiberius*, 52, accuses Tiberius of not having affection for Drusus, and relates stories of his heartlessness. But it is difficult to reconcile these stories with the passage, 62, referred to above. We are not concerned with the correctness of either account; the problem is not solved merely by the summary dismissal of one.

a greater man than Jonson represents him or than is ordinarily thought. Consider that he had not, like any ordinary conspirator, merely to raise a small band of desperate men to assist him in killing Tiberius. He had six or seven persons to dispose of ; popular favor to conciliate, for he was a new man, lacking even the prestige of Oriental conquest ; he had suspicion to avert ; the love of the people for Agrippina and her sons to counteract ; a crafty and unscrupulous politician to deceive. In executing these plans, he occupied eight or ten years ; attained all his ends except the final one ; was during that time master of the empire ; and his eventual defeat was due, not to the actual miscarriage of his plot, but to vague suspicion engendered by his very success.¹ The skill, perseverance, fortitude, knowledge of human nature, talent for dissimulation, foresight, and coördinating power such as he must have exercised were clearly of the nature of genius, and yet we are to believe, according to the accounts given by Tacitus and Dio,² and accepted by Jonson, that he was a petty politician, quite inferior to Tiberius in the arts of intrigue. The two ideas seem hardly compatible : either he did not conspire upon this comprehensive scale, or else the

¹ Jonson tells us that Tiberius' suspicions were aroused by the desire of Sejanus to marry Livia ; but no hint of this kind is to be found in Dio, Tacitus, or any writer of the time. Josephus, indeed, says that the conspiracy was discovered to Tiberius by Antonia, the mother of Germanicus.

² It should be noted that Tacitus and Dio do not directly accuse Sejanus of conspiracy ; but both suggest that he conspires, Dio very clearly ; and Suetonius and Josephus make the charge in formal language.

struggle between himself and Tiberius was a struggle between equals, both men of greater power and grasp than Jonson gives us to infer.

A further resemblance to Jonson's comedy may be here touched upon. It has been aptly pointed out that his comic figures may be divided into knaves, dupes, and on-lookers. A similar classification holds good in the main for the two tragedies. His comedies, moreover, are comedies of intrigue, and in these plays intrigue is the essence of the plot. Especially worth notice, as has already been observed by Miss Woodbridge in her *Studies in Jonson's Comedy*, is the parallelism of *Sejanus* and *Volpone*. We have the two pairs of knaves, on the one hand Tiberius and Sejanus, on the other Volpone and Mosca; in the course of time the bonds of union break, and each intriguer seeks to dupe his former ally. Mosca, Sejanus in a lower station, likewise attempts the task of outwitting and supplanting his master. In *Volpone* the schemers have a common fate, whereas in *Sejanus* it is only the minister that falls.

This similarity in plot, however, is but the index to one of a much more significant kind, though it may be merely suggested at this point. *Volpone* is a comedy only by courtesy. In its stern morality, its savage mockery, its harshly just conclusion, the play is hardly amusing, unless for the nonce one is content to turn pure cynic. In *Sejanus*, to be sure, the issues are more momentous, and several persons are 'put to silence'; but doubtless Volpone himself would have preferred death to the galleys.¹

¹ See pp. xxix-xxx, below.

II

In the Epilogue to the *Poetaster*, 1601, Jonson tells us that comedy has proved ominous to him, and that he intends to turn to tragedy in search of a better fate. Two years later *Sejanus* was brought out. Its reception was not favorable, and it seems not to have been many times acted. In 1605 it was published, and the reader of the Dedication and the other preliminary matter may easily learn with what spirited defiance Jonson treated the public judgment of his play; for neither he nor any other man of letters of his time, except perhaps Antony Munday, held Madame de Sevigné's opinion that the public is "ni fou ni injuste." From the point of view of the stage, no great wrong was done the poet, however much personal feeling may have played a part in the condemnation of a drama by the author of the *Poetaster*, the outspoken critic and satirist of his own audiences. Indeed, the public was not altogether indiscriminating, since in the splenetic outburst prefixed to *Catiline*, a play based on the same principles, Jonson himself indignantly admits that the first two acts, "because they are the worst," did not fail of approval.¹

As to the sources, Jonson has himself given us much information in his notes, to which some additions have been made. Not a great deal need be said here. In

¹ *Sejanus* met with some favor abroad, where it was translated into German; see *Bibliography*, under Bolte. Under Charles II it was given at least one performance, and Pepys viewed its companion, *Catiline*, with qualified approbation. Langbaine says that *Sejanus* "is generally commended by all lovers of poetry," and it was revived and adapted for political purposes in the eighteenth century.

general, they are of two kinds, those which supplied the facts, and those of which he made use in order to fill up the background and give solidity to the characters; Tacitus and Dio furnished most of the facts, while Tacitus, Suetonius, and the satirists, especially Juvenal, fill up the background; incidentally much of Latin literature, particularly the writings of Seneca, is liberally drawn upon.¹

Jonson adhered with great fidelity to the sources of the first class, and in few respects do we find him departing from the story they tell. Of course, any historical dramatist, in fitting his material for the stage, must construct scenes and conversations for which he has no immediate warrant, and to that extent Jonson exhibits independence of his authorities: a hint that an interview has taken place is elaborated into an extended conference (II, i); a consultation apparently carried on by letter is converted into a personal interview (II, ii); many conversations are freely inserted (II, iv); a long letter of which only the most general account has come down to us is reconstructed in its entirety (v, viii);

¹ It is to-day hardly necessary to defend Jonson upon the charge of plagiarism, even when he appropriates passage after passage from Lucan or Seneca. Critics and commentators seem at length willing to accord what writers have always arrogated, namely, the right of eminent domain. The question becomes simply: what use has been made of the spoils? In the present case, "the play's the thing," and *Sejanus* acquits its author. For that matter, even the most acrimonious attack cannot convict him of more than following somewhat literally the advice of Claudian :

Plus est servasse repertum
Quam quaessisse novum.

dramatic effect is subserved, as when Silius is made to commit suicide in the senate-house instead of at home; historical time becomes dramatic time, and events that occurred months or even years apart are brought together on the stage. So much the poet is compelled to do by the conditions under which he works. But Jonson hardly went further. He added no incidents of weight, nor, in any important degree, did he change the course of events. I believe that every minor character has some kind of historical existence, however shadowy. Whenever possible, moreover, he employed the language of the characters as history records it, thereby falling into line, though for a different reason, with the practice of contemporary playwrights. Too often they did so in order to save time and labor; but of these Jonson was prodigal.

Nor does the fact that, in giving substance to background and character, he translated or adapted whatever passages of the satirists could be brought to bear,¹ at all

¹ Mutatis mutandis, what Hofmiller says, *Die ersten sechs Masken Ben Jonson's*, 1901, 80, with regard to Jonson's utilization of sources forms an instructive commentary upon his tragic composition: "Die art, wie J die Autoren benützt, bestätigt das bisherige Urteil: Er ist in der Erfindung selbständig, im Kombinieren überraschend, in der Ausführung und Motivierung des Details lehnt er sich gerne an. Die *Masque of Blackness* ist auf einer Fülle von einzelnen Quellenstellen aufgebaut, die geistreich kombiniert sind. Die *Masque of Beauty* geht auf Philostratus zurück. Die *Hymenaei* sind ein meisterhaftes Mosaikgemälde einer römischen Vermählungsfeier. Catull hat sowohl das Epithalamium inspiriert, als das Thema für die *Barriers* gegeben. Bei *Huc and Cry after Cupid* kann das Vorbild Zeile für Zeile, ja Halbzeile für Halbzeile nachgewiesen werden; ebenso bei der *Masque of Queens*. Am selbständigsten sind

invalidate Jonson's claim to 'truth of argument.' For nothing that they supply is inconsistent with the facts, and in tone and point of view they accord remarkably well with Tacitus himself, though of course they rarely deal with the same series of events. In making use of them, Jonson felt that he was faithfully reproducing the atmosphere of Rome, far more faithfully than if he had chosen to rely upon his own imagination.

Fidelity to his source then seems in Jonson's opinion to be one of the proper characteristics of a tragic writer.¹ What else does he consider important?

It is difficult to collect out of Jonson's works an explicit and consistent doctrine respecting tragedy,² as he

die *Barriers* zu dieser *Masque*, und *Oberon*. Am wörtlichsten benützt J Catull, Moschos und Lucan, sowie die Autoren zu den historischen Erläuterungen der *Masque of Queens*; Horaz und Virgil folgen zunächst."

¹ The position at first sight seems hardly consistent with his judgment on du Bartas (*Conversations*, iv): "That he thought not Bartas a poet, but a verser, because he wrote not fiction." Elsewhere (see Reinsch, 6) he speaks of the poets as 'feigning' or writing 'things like the truth' (*Discoveries*, 73). Yet (see the Dedications to *Sejanus* and *Catiline*) he regards these tragedies as poems and himself in writing them as a poet. The essential element of imagination he doubtless found in the amalgamation and unifying of the various historical fragments and in the elaborate development of the characters. He would have said that *Sejanus*, as a whole, in the entirety of its action and dialogue, *was not* the truth, but was *like* the truth.

² The *Discoveries* must be used with caution, for it is not always easy to tell how much they represent his own convictions, how much they are mere notes of his reading. When I quote passages from them as illustrating his artistic theory, I shall try to support them by passages from his plays in which we find undoubted expression of his views. References to the *Discoveries* are always to Schelling's edition.

affords us less definite information than we might expect from a man of his pronounced interest in the theory of literature and his frequent critical utterances. Doubtless a formal statement of his matured views was contained in the notes to his translation of the *De Arte Poetica*, but as they were 'ravish'd hence' by fire, we are reduced to the collation of scattered passages, written at different times and under different conditions. With the study of these explicitly critical memorabilia, we must combine the analysis of his tragic writings, with the result of reaching conclusions not always in harmony. Indeed, in the meditation and practice of forty years of an actively intellectual and reflective life, it is in vain to expect entire agreement, especially at a time when critical standards are just beginning to be the subject of a freer inquiry. No one has stated more lucidly and cogently the fundamental principle of aesthetics, that the ideals of one age must not tyrannize over those of another: "Nulla ars," he tells us, "simul et inventa est et absoluta." And yet more than once his adherence to traditional formulae seems almost bigoted. Differently viewed, the problem admits of general statement in terms of character: he experienced in a degree not often paralleled, the vocation of criticism as well as that of creative literature; born critic and born dramatist, the instinct for law and order characteristic of the one battled, at times bitterly, with the instinct for freedom characteristic of the other. It is the persistence of this critical antinomy, thoroughly reconciled only in his best plays of the comic thread, that must be called upon to explain much that is puzzling in his attitude and opinions. Yet

the reader should remember that it was Jonson's very intellectual power that under the conditions of the day engendered this conflict: he was too strong a thinker to underestimate, however he might misjudge, the worth of ancient literature; he was too clear a thinker not to see the weakness of mere imitation; he was too independent not to feel strongly the claims of his own generation; yet he was too conservative to relish entirely the self-sufficiency of 'l'art nouveau,' or to admit that the oracles of criticism were for all time dumb.

As student of aesthetic theory, comprehensive and profound in his knowledge of classical and Renaissance criticism,¹ Jonson's conception of the chief function of poetry hardly differed materially from that entertained by Aristotle, Horace, Scaliger, or Heinsius.² *Prodesse et delectare* ran the conventional formula, of which the first member indicated the immediate end and justification, the second the means. All forms of poetry were embraced under it, and no distinction is of course drawn between comedy and tragedy.

But how may these last discharge their didactic function? Jonson returns explicit answer as regards comedy. "What figure of a body was Lysippus ever able to form with his graver, or Apelles to paint with his pencil, as the comedy to life expresseth so many and various affections of the mind? There shall the spectator see

¹ As Saint Augustine said of Varro, 'tam multa legit, ut aliquid ei scribere vacuisse miremur.'

² See Jonson, *passim*, e. g., *Discoveries*, 34, 49, 75, and the Dedication to *Volpone*. Cf. Spingarn, *Literary Criticism in the Renaissance*, pp. 60 ff., for a discussion of Renaissance dramatic theory.

some insulting with joy, others fretting with melancholy, raging with anger, mad with love, boiling with avarice, undone with riot, tortured with expectation, consumed with fear: no perturbation in common life but the orator finds an example of it in the scene.”¹ A comedy, however, does not necessarily move laughter, nor does it necessarily end joyfully.² It teaches by representing the passions of life in such a way as to make men ashamed of their indulgence, or at least sensible of the inconvenience and odium to which they give rise.

“The parts of a comedy are the same with a tragedy, and the end is partly the same, for they both delight and teach.”³ Clearly, in using the phrase, ‘partly the same,’ Jonson had in mind Aristotle’s dictum that tragedy accomplishes its mission of teaching by purging the mind through pity and terror. This dictum he interprets in the fashion of the day. As subjects for tragedy, he chooses Sejanus, Catiline, Mortimer, Richard Crookback (i. e., Richard III)⁴; each plot has for its centre a great criminal or a great group of

¹ *Discoveries*, 79; cf. Prologues to *Every Man in his Humour*, *The Alchemist*, the *Staple of News*, and the Induction to Act 1 of *Every Man out of his Humour*.

² *Discoveries*, 81, and Dedication to *Volpone*.

³ *Discoveries*, 81.

⁴ It should be added that we know him to have been concerned with Dekker in a tragedy called *Page of Plymouth*, and with Dekker, Chettle, and an unknown in an historical tragedy called *Robert II, King of Scots*. For the plays mentioned in the text he seems solely responsible; cf., however, for *Sejanus*, the note on 5,50 below, and for *Richard Crookback*, Fleay’s suggestion that it was an alteration of an earlier play by Marlowe, a suggestion resting upon his theory of the authorship of Shakespeare’s *Richard III*.

criminals, and in the first three,¹ presumably the fourth also (for the play is not extant), the interest of the action resides in the crimes of the evil-doers and their eventual punishment. Pity for the victims and terror of the criminals combine to impress upon us a great moral lesson. Thus Jonson takes 'katharsis,' not in the sense of an emotional relief, apparently the prevailing opinion to-day, but in that of a moral purification, a conclusion reinforced when we consider how he insists constantly upon the didactic function of poetry, and the strongly moral and satirical bent of every play that he wrote.²

There are, however, other points to be noted. It was generally thought that comedy imitates 'common life.'³ Moreover, in the preface to *Sejanus*, he speaks of 'truth of argument, dignity of persons, gravity and height of elocution, fullness and frequency of sentence'⁴ as essential 'offices of a tragic writer.' And of course tragedies had to have unhappy endings, consisting as

¹ The third is merely a fragment; see below, p. xxxvii, note 1.

² Aristotle tells the tragic writer to select as his hero a 'moderately good man.' Jonson would of course be influenced by the example of Seneca, some of whose principal figures are Atreus, Clytemnaestra, Medea, Phaedra.

³ *Discoveries*, 79; cf. Prologue to *Every Man in his Humour*.

⁴ For 'dignity of persons,' see note, p. xxxii, below. By a 'sentence' was meant the pithy, epigrammatic expression of some moral, political, or social generalization. What the Clerk of Oxford spoke was

'Short and quik, and full of hy sentence.

Souninge in moral vertu was his speche,

And gladly wolde he lerne, and gladly teche.'

Webster's conception of tragedy was not essentially different in theory; cf. note on l. 6 of *To the Readers*.

they did in 'falls of princes.' If we take all these points together, we shall see our way clearly. Tragedy, like comedy, teaches, but whereas comedy, dealing with common life, instructs the ordinary man how to govern his passions and rule himself by showing him that the indulgence of passions and follies covers men with shame and ridicule, may indeed, as in *Volpone*, lead them to almost any punishment short of mortal; tragedy, dealing with the lives of those classes to whom the guidance and safe-conduct of society are entrusted, instructs in a more deeply impressive fashion. The difference is the difference between the public and the private criminal: the vices of the one react upon himself or his immediate neighbor; the crimes of the other plunge a whole state into mourning. An ordinary man, like Kiteley, Sordido, Volpone, may fitly be dealt with by ordinary means, ridicule or satire, or, on occasion, a little wholesome correction; but a Catiline, a Sejanus, — these men brave fate, and accordingly it is fate that deals out their reward.

May we not say, then, that for Jonson the essential difference between the two forms of drama is external, a difference of scale, not so much of nature? ¹ Little of the sweep, the scope, the intensity of tragic passion is to be found in his tragic writing. He was blind to the opportunities offered by the character of Agrippina, and his meticulous analysis of the mind of Tiberius

¹ That is why scenes like II, i, in *Sejanus*, II in *Catiline*, though in the best vein of Jonson's satiric comedy, are not felt by him to be inconsistent with their surroundings, so that he can call *Catiline* a legitimate poem.

leaves no room for any quality of grandeur such as even Tacitus fails not to reveal. This is not the veiled figure that lives on in the memory of the race, grim, awful, inscrutable. Nor is Jonson's success much greater with his Catiline. Here, if anywhere, it was his purpose to erect a figure larger than the common mould of men, and here, if anywhere, do we feel the heaving groundswell of elemental passion.

"The cruelty I mean to act, I wish
Should be call'd mine, and tarry in my name ;
Whilst after-ages do toil out themselves
In thinking for the like, but do it less :
And were the power of all the fiends let loose,
With fate to boot, it should be still example,
When, what the Gaul or Moor could not effect,
Nor emulous Carthage, with their length of spite,
Shall be the work of one, and that MY night."

The long opening speech of Sylla's ghost is there to draw large in our imaginations the character of Catiline, and Petreius in that really fine passage,

"Whilst Catiline came on, not with the face
Of any man, but of a public ruin,"

has adequately expressed Jonson's conception. Yet, after all is said, Catiline is but another ruined gamester, setting up his rest on a last throw of the dice. Only occasionally does Jonson seem to appreciate what is to us so striking a feature of tragic poetry, that it lifts us 'out of the mist and hum of that low land' of everyday existence into a region where man, stripped as far as may be of the adventitious garments of society and custom, bares his soul to the universal and the elemental.¹

¹ I do not wish to venture too far into the dark and bloody

Thus Jonson's tragic figures, when impressive at all, are so in a certain narrowly realistic way. They possess emotionally limited personalities. In Tiberius and Sejanus, even in Catiline, intellect smothers emotion; motive appears chiefly in the form of its result, a carefully elaborated plan of action, based on chances calculated with a truly commercial and speculative instinct. Their errors are at bottom mathematical, and they fall because their calculations are inaccurate, not because somehow they have defied 'the stream of tendency making for righteousness.' Rarely in either play do our ears catch, as in *Macbeth* or *Lear* or even in the *Changeling*, the steady and distant tread of ineluctable doom. Tiberius maintains himself to the last, craft is overcome by deeper craft, and he who comes triumphant out of the conflict is the greatest criminal of all.

It seems to us a fundamental defect in the older conception of tragedy that it should be so closely bound up with "all the solemn plausibilities of the world"; just as no figure was properly tragic unless it possessed the accidental attribute of high social position,¹ so no

ground of aesthetic theory; my aim is merely to suggest an important fact regarding which Renaissance critics were generally at sea. The 'tragic aspect of life' was one that they had not faced in its relation to tragic art. To put it differently, they had not yet grounded tragedy upon pessimism, which seems perhaps to be its real basis; see Nietzsche, *Geburt der Tragödie*; Volkelt, *Ästhetik des Tragischen*, etc.

¹ This essential condition of a tragic situation appears to us arbitrary and superficial. In reality it followed naturally from the old conception of the primary function of art and from the old organization of society. Burke, though of course without thought of anything like the present topic, illuminates the whole matter in his

situation was in itself tragic unless it involved a striking reversal of fortune, usually the death of the chief character. We may be quite confident that it never occurred to Jonson that his Tiberius is far more of a tragic figure than his Sejanus, that the lonely despot, throned high in desolation, suffered the more awful punishment. Shakespeare's conception was of course far deeper. The tragic element in Macbeth, to take perhaps the clearest example, is quite independent of the mere fact that

characteristic manner in his *Reflections on the French Revolution*: "Why do I feel so differently from the Reverend Dr. Price, and those of his lay flock, who will choose to adopt the sentiments of his discourse? — For this plain reason — because it is *natural* I should; because we are so made, as to be affected at such spectacles with melancholy sentiments upon the unstable condition of mortal prosperity, and the tremendous uncertainty of human greatness; because in those natural feelings we learn great lessons; because in events like these our passions instruct our reason; because when kings are hurled from their thrones by the Supreme Director of this great drama, and become the objects of insult to the base, and of pity to the good, we behold such disasters in the moral, as we should behold a miracle in the physical order of things. We are alarmed into reflection; our minds (as it has long since been observed) are purified by terror and pity; our weak, unthinking pride is humbled under the dispensations of a mysterious wisdom. Some tears might be drawn from me, if such a spectacle were exhibited on the stage. I should be truly ashamed of finding in myself that superficial, theatric sense of painted distress, whilst I could exult over it in real life." Hurd, in his *Essay on the Provinces of the Drama*, notices the reasons for the preference of exalted personages in tragedy over those in a private station, and goes on: "Yet our passion for the *familiar*, goes so far, that we have tragedies, not only of private action, but of *private persons*; and so have well nigh annihilated the noblest of the two dramas amongst us." See also Butcher, *Aristotle's Theory of Poetry and Fine Art*, 236–7; Saintsbury, *History of Criticism*, II, 61.

Macbeth is himself killed at the end of the play. From this point of view, the death of the body is but the fitting symbol or expression of the death of the soul that has gone before. One realizes dimly how terrible would have been the Tiberius of Shakespeare. Jonson himself, for all that his tragedy is the tragedy of Sejanus, could not help making Tiberius the dominating figure, though more by virtue of greater craft and greater astuteness than of an inherent nobility or grandeur of conception; and Tiberius, "by his own stale devil spurr'd," fails to be a tragic figure because he lacks the exalted fullness and freedom of emotional life that tragedy demands.

If Nietzsche says rightly that every tragedy, in the true sense of the term, leaves us with the metaphysical solace, that life, despite all the flux and flow of phenomena, has an indestructible basis of power and exhilaration,¹ must we not say that here also Jonson failed to appreciate the task he undertook? Surely neither *Sejanus* nor *Catiline* leaves the reader with any such consolation. Shakespeare does, and so do the other great Elizabethan writers of tragedy, each in his own measure. But even in the scenes that Jonson may have added to Kyd's *Spanish Tragedy*, scenes in which, if anywhere, he rises to almost the full stature of a tragic poet, such an effect is not produced. May it not be significant that he never acknowledged, so far as we know, the authorship of these passages, even as a sin of his younger days?² In any case, however excellent as an

¹ *Geburt der Tragödie*, 3d ed., 1894, 55.

² The latest discussion of the question of his authorship is found

explosion of sorrow and passion, they can hardly be said to show more than the possession in Jonson's youth of a certain aptitude for tragedy which he later deliberately stifled.

While thus adopting classical and Renaissance ideas in regard to the purpose of dramatic writing, Jonson does not necessarily hold that that purpose can be attained only through narrow observance of classical rule. Particularly specific is his statement concerning comedy. In the Induction to *Every Man out of his Humour*, he says in effect that, since even in classical times the rules governing the structure of a comedy were altered from time to time, there is no reason why modern writers of comedy should not introduce further alterations if it seems advisable to do so.

Yet even in comedy as time goes on he adheres more closely to the ancient doctrine; thus in the Dedication to *Volpone* he says that he is bringing back to the stage, not merely "the ancient forms, but manners of the scene, the easiness, the propriety, the innocence, and last, the doctrine, which is the principal end of poesie, to inform men in the best reason of living." In *The Alchemist* and *Epicoene*, as well as in his other comedies, there is in almost every case a strenuous effort made to conform to classical precept.

Apparently tragedy is not equally independent. In the Induction the principal reason alleged for permitting modern alteration in comedy is that the laws governing that

in Castelain, *Ben Jonson*, Appendix B. There is really no means of solving the problem, save perhaps by adducing the Jesuit doctrine of probable opinions.

form have not been "delivered *ab initio*, and in their present virtue and perfection," for in that case, "there had been some reason of obeying their powers." But as classical writers of comedy altered and improved, so may we do. Moreover, Jonson has nowhere traced the development of ancient tragedy as he has that of comedy in this passage, and without question he did not know that the choruses were often omitted in the later period.¹ He would, too, be especially influenced by the fact that whereas Terence and Plautus differ markedly in the matter of structure from Aristophanes, Seneca differs comparatively little in the same respect from Sophocles and Euripides. Thus he might readily assume that classical criticism admitted that its laws of comedy were changeable, but made no such admission with regard to the other type, and that the greater stability of the rules of ancient tragedy made obedience to them well-nigh imperative.²

¹ Haigh, *Tragic Drama of the Greeks*, 451-2.

² The baffling nature of any attempt to arrive at a final statement of Jonson's critical views is illustrated by this passage from the *Discoveries*, 79-80: "I am not of that opinion to conclude a poet's liberty within the narrow limits of laws which either the grammarians or philosophers prescribe. For before they found out those laws there were many excellent poets that fulfilled them, amongst whom none more perfect than Sophocles, who lived a little before Aristotle." As Aristotle does not deal with comedy, and as Jonson has already pointed out in the Induction that the ancient laws of comedy were not fixed, we may conclude that in this passage he has tragedy especially in mind, and that he is declaring the independence of the modern tragic poet. Yet the declaration is by no means so complete as it sounds. For while the poet may be declared independent of the critic, he is not declared independent of great example; and from the second sentence we learn definitely that there are laws and that poets

Again, in the preface to *Sejanus*, Jonson regrets the fact that the conditions under which *Sejanus* is presented make it impossible to observe "the old state and splendor of dramatic poems," the play being defective, as expressly stated, in respect to "the strict laws of time," and the "want of a proper chorus." Such language makes it clear that the ancient practice should have been followed in these matters. So important apparently is the chorus that he calls *Catiline* in the Dedication a "legitimate poem" (the phrase should be contrasted with the "no true poem" of the preface to *Sejanus*), although the presence of the chorus is the chief structural difference between the two.

The fragment called the *Fall of Mortimer*¹ is of very practiced them before the critics found them out. Aristotle is a great critic because (compare *Discoveries*, p. 78) he systematized and explained the practice of preceding writers. What Jonson means, I think, is that the true poet has a soundness of instinct that leads him to obey rules before they are discovered and formulated.

¹ It comprises an 'Argument,' including analyses of the choruses, a list of dramatis personae, and about 70 lines of 1, i, made up of a soliloquy by Mortimer, and a brief dialogue between him and Isabella. There are eight male characters, including a 'nuntius,' and one female, besides choruses of ladies, of courtiers, of country justices, and of unnamed persons, perhaps citizens.

Mortimer's rise to power is not to be represented, nor the growth of his liaison with Isabella. Act 1 "comprehends Mortimer's pride and security" and the advice given him by the Bishop of Worcester; II, the incredulity of Edward III as regards the reports against Mortimer and Isabella; III, a relation, by way of vision, of the events leading up to the given situation; IV, the change of mind on the part of Edward, and his plans for the overthrow of Mortimer; V, the relation to the Earl of Lancaster, presumably by the Nuntius, of the outcome of these plans. The surprising of Mortimer in the Queen's chamber and his execution are related by the chorus between IV

great interest in this connection. So far as the Argument informs us, absolutely nothing was to happen on the stage, and it was evidently Jonson's purpose to reduce the plot to the lowest terms and make everything turn on the portrayal of character and the introduction of moral and political philosophy. Thus Mortimer's soliloquy expounds and defends the principles upon which he has acted, and the few lines spoken by Isabella reveal a design to infuse into her character an element of passion supposedly in harmony with her French birth. This paucity of action forms a striking contrast to the other tragedies. Although in them some incidents are narrated rather than represented and others undramatically treated, yet enough takes place before the spectator to show that Jonson had at that time no objection to action as such on the tragic stage. The very multiplicity of figures, together with their constant coming and going, is an effective substitute for action even in the more rhetorical por-

and v. Everything might easily take place in one day, and there seems to be no suggestion of a change of scene from the Palace, where the play opens.

Of interest, further, is the fact that there were to be at least three and presumably four chorus groups, each having its own place in the play, and that these groups were not to be combined. Chorus 4 might be said to have a part in the action, since it narrates events falling between iv and v, were it not for the fact that this narration is evidently repeated by the Nuntius to Lancaster, in v.

Sejanus has no chorus. *Catiline* has one, but it takes no part in the action, and there is no suggestion that it is a double chorus, that is, is made up of different groups. (A double chorus, chorus duplex, is found in two plays of Seneca; none is found in Greek tragedy, but Aristophanes employs it.) In *Sejanus* and *Catiline*, moreover, the speaking parts number at least thirty-seven and thirty-three respectively.

tions.¹ Yet another important contrast is in the fact that the whole arrangement and disposition of material as displayed in the Argument make it well-nigh certain that in *Mortimer* Jonson was striving to preserve the unities of time and place. No effort to do this is apparently made in either *Catiline* or *Sejanus*, though it is true that in the latter play the scene is not removed from Rome. And finally, whereas *Mortimer*, like ancient tragedy, does not present a series of incidents, but deals with the last incident of a series whereof the earlier members are narrated to the audience or perhaps known to them beforehand, both *Sejanus* and *Catiline* are of a different type. Each of them begins, so to speak, with the beginning, and follows the series step by step.

As in the case of comedy, we observe a gradual submission on Jonson's part to the dominion of the classics.² *Catiline* has a slightly simpler action than *Sejanus*, a greater amount of oratory, and a chorus. In

¹ In the Induction to *Every Man out of his Humour* Jonson points out certain dramatic advantages resulting from having the stage full of figures.

² I assume that the fragment belongs to the period of Jonson's life after the fire that consumed his books and papers (1623?). Such is the natural assumption, and I know of no reason why it should not be made. But any date later than 1611, the year of *Catiline*, would satisfy the conditions of the discussion above. Fleay's conjecture (*Biographical Chronicle of the Drama*, I, 56, 356) that the fragment is to be identified with the 'Mortimer' of Henslowe's Diary, 1602, is, I think, placed absolutely out of court by Greg's remarks in his edition of the Diary, II, 188, 224. Such evidence as we have is all in favor of the unqualified acceptance of Sir Kenelm Digby's note on the fragment, "Hee dy'd, and left it unfinished."

the fragment the classical principles, as then understood, have triumphed, though the very fact that the play was not carried beyond the mere beginning may properly raise the question how far such momentary and isolated, even though complete triumph, is of importance in the general view of Jonson's critical beliefs.

Such a process would without doubt be furthered by the irritating influence of public disapproval. Jonson always stuck by his guns, and worked them the more rapidly as shot and shell fell thicker about him. In *Sejanus* he tried to meet the vulgar halfway;¹ yet even thus he was not 'safe from the wolf's black jaw, and the dull ass's hoof,' and he attained only a *succès d'estime*. He was a man to regret concession and to ask whether he had not turned traitor to the cause. In *Catiline* appeared the chorus which in *Sejanus* had seemed too great an offense to public taste; this time the play was damned. His next tragedy should be impeccable. After all he made no fetish of popularity; now he would write as his conscience bade him.

Such being Jonson's conception of tragedy in general, we may ask whether he furnishes us with specific information regarding historical tragedy, the kind that he cultivated almost exclusively.² No formal discussion of

¹ Obviously Professor Walter Raleigh is going too far (*Style*, 70-71) in saying that "Jonson would have boasted that he never made the sacrifice" (i. e., on the altar of popularity); he forgot the preface to *Sejanus*.

² Jonson's apparent preference for historical tragedy over the other types is not difficult to understand. It was easily fitted to didactic purposes. These men had lived, they had committed these crimes, they had been thus punished, whether by other men or by

this type as distinct from others occurs in his work. Yet something may be gathered from incidental remarks.

‘Truth of argument’ is one of the ‘offices of a tragic writer,’ and Jonson excuses the pedantic accumulation of references in the notes to *Sejanus* on the ground that thereby he shows his ‘integrity in the story’ and baffles ‘those common torturers that bring all wit to the rack.’ At once he ranges himself with those who would deny the right of the historical dramatist to manipulate his facts to suit his understanding of character and the forces determining the course of events.¹ Thus an-

fate. “But it is more agreeable with the Gravity of a Tragedy that it be grounded upon a true History, where the Greatness of a Known Person, urging Regard, doth work the more powerfully upon the Affections.” (Sir W. Alexander, *Anacrisis*, in Spingarn’s *Seventeenth Century Critical Essays*, 1, 186.) Moreover, Jonson’s own period had a special fondness for historical drama. Garnier in France, the Humanists in Italy, the Renaissance poets generally seemed on the whole to think that a drama was the better if it had some historical foundation. It is not necessary to do more than refer to the fact that at least sixteen of Shakespeare’s plays have an historical or supposedly historical basis, and that of his serious or tragic plays, only *Romeo and Juliet*, *Othello*, and perhaps *Troilus and Cressida* are without it. And finally, classical tragedy was historical, though not perhaps in our sense of the word. The myths of Greece and Rome, whatever interpretation might be placed upon them by advanced thinkers, however the imagination of the poet might be permitted to adapt them to his purposes, were still accepted by the generality of men as records of their early history, much for example as the first chapters of Genesis were so accepted in the eighteenth century.

¹ The vexed question of how far in this manipulation the poet should be permitted to go, at what point historical drama ceases to be such and becomes merely drama, need not concern us here, since it is tolerably evident that Jonson refuses to concede the right,

other restriction is placed upon the poet, who is compelled to attack his problem primarily from the intellectual rather than the imaginative point of view. Consider *Sejanus* and *Catiline* devoid of historical basis, like *Philoaster* or *Faust*, and our interest in them is greatly lessened. The free flight of imagination is restrained by the jesses of material fact; yet a partial, if not an entire independence is the first condition of the exercise of creative power. When this independence is denied, the dramatist has simply to make the best of the matter and accomplish as satisfactory an adaptation of given means to given ends as circumstances allow; a high degree of such adaptation, to put it frankly, is what Jonson's tragedy displays.

A very definite notion of what an historical drama should not be Jonson formed early in his career, and in the Prologue to *Every Man in his Humour* he gave it the frankest expression. Though he is there speaking of the contemporary stage in general, it is evident that he has a special eye upon the chronicle history. Its frequent bombastic language, its attempt to cover loosely and disconnectedly long periods of time and large spaces of ground, and the absurdities resulting from the representation of battles by means of a few ragged 'supers' were without doubt legitimate grounds of objection even in the eyes of less exacting critics. These faults Jonson was careful to avoid in his own work.¹

further than is implied in the simple fact of dramatization. Worth notice is the similar attitude that he assumes toward translation; cf. Spingarn, *Seventeenth Century Critical Essays*, 1, liv.

¹ Remarks on other elements in his conception of historical drama are to be found in the next section.

We have so far been considering *Sejanus* and *Catiline* in connection with ancient theory. What about ancient practice? What dramatist more particularly embodied his ideals of tragedy? Naturally he knew the Greeks well, but as Hofmiller has suggested, he had perhaps but slight appreciation of their aesthetic value. His affinities indeed were markedly Roman, and the same writer calls attention to the characteristic fact that none of the biographies of Plutarch suggested a subject to him, but rather the decaying Republic and the favorite-ridden Empire.

Thus Jonson's model was Seneca, a choice imposed upon him no doubt by the literary and critical conditions of the time,¹ yet ill-advised. For Seneca's plays lack action and plotting, abound in long bombastic speeches, and deal with single situations spun out to the limit of rhetorical ingenuity. Whether composed or not for the stage, the dramatic ideals of their author were widely different from ours, as well as from those of the Greeks.

Naturally we may not reproach Jonson in these terms. In common with the formal criticism of his day, however, he failed to perceive that these plays were essentially undramatic, and regarded their characteristic qualities as important elements of good tragedy. It is the gravity and height of Seneca's elocution, the fullness and frequency of his sentence, in a word, his rhetoric, that Jonson approves. Of the four points that he emphasizes,

¹ An excellent analysis of some of the reasons why Seneca should have been the favorite tragic writer of the sixteenth century is found in Bernage, *Étude sur Robert Garnier*, pp. 5-6. Much of what he says, not to be reproduced here, would apply to English dramatists and perhaps especially to Jonson.

all but one, perhaps that one also, may be called purely 'rhetorical' excellences. Neither dignity of persons, nor gravity and height of elocution, nor fullness and frequency of sentence constitute the essence of tragedy; each when pursued as an end in itself dulls our insight into the situation before us. Jonson's soundness of taste, to be sure, as well as the awful example of some of his immediate predecessors and contemporaries, kept him from often indulging in the bombast that forms so ugly an excrescence on the style of his Latin model. For all that, *Sejanus* produces too much the effect of a tragedy of words. The plot does unquestionably embrace action enough, but that action does not always tell. The word is not so much the expression of the deed as the deed is the mere occasion for the word. Statistics such as those in the note below,¹ though not in themselves of much importance, help us to realize vividly the rhetorical nature of the drama.

Certain structural defects may be briefly noticed. It should be remembered that two threads of interest are to be kept in sight, the plot of *Sejanus* and *Tiberius* against the family of *Agrippina*, and the plot of *Sejanus*

¹ In *Sejanus*, about one fifth of the dialogue is spoken by the group of *Arruntius*, *Sabinus*, *Silius*, *Cordus*, all, except perhaps *Silius*, minor figures (speeches of from one to three lines are not counted). *Tiberius* has one speech of sixty lines, two of forty-five, two of thirty-five, one of thirty, one of twenty-five; *Sejanus* has six of twenty lines, three of twenty-four, one of thirty-three, two of thirty-seven, one of forty-two. There are a number of other speeches of more than twenty lines. Roughly speaking, about a thousand lines, practically a third of the play, are in speeches of from twenty to sixty lines. I have not included the speeches of fifteen to twenty lines, nor the long letter in v, viii.

against Tiberius. The execution of the first is a step to that of the second, yet Sejanus necessarily conducts both at the same time. Unity of impression demands that the various steps in these two intrigues be kept before the reader in their proper relation, and the maintenance of such a relation in turn demands that the emphasis be placed consistently upon the course taken by Sejanus.

Certainly there is no doubt that Sejanus is properly emphasized, so far as the first plot is concerned. But from the middle of the play to the end, the emphasis is placed on the counter-plot against him, and he becomes in the main a purely passive figure. To be sure, the progress of his plot against Tiberius is constantly hinted at, but it is not worked out. There is indeed no room for its development. So much has been devoted to the first plot that the second, involving as it necessarily does the counter-intrigue of Tiberius and Macro, must, in the slow and tortuous manner that Jonson has adopted, be incompletely shown. There seems to be a real failure in proportion, with the result of a shift of emphasis in the middle of the play. In the first part stress is laid upon the line of action diligently pursued by Sejanus, in the second upon that pursued by Tiberius through his agent Macro. Tiberius disappears from the scene, and Macro, introduced at the end of the third act, becomes the active figure and occupies almost as much space in the canvas as the minister himself.

Again, too much space is devoted to preparation, too little to action. After the interview with Eudemus, Sejanus seduces Livia, and the plot against Drusus is concocted. Of the execution of the plot, dramatically

more important than the planning, we are informed only by hearsay. Many scenes prepare for the destruction of the family of Agrippina, but that catastrophe comes upon the stage only in the meeting of Arruntius and Lepidus with Nero and the interview of Macro with Caligula. The eye of the spectator is constantly stimulated, so to speak, by a perspective of action to the end of which it is not allowed to penetrate.

A third point may be illustrated by the trial of Silius. The removal of that nobleman is merely incidental to the overthrow of Agrippina, and is important only as it renders easier the accomplishment of that end. Yet, so far as the dramatic impression goes, his trial is treated as though it were the climax of the play, a proceeding hardly justified by the fact that it does help to create historical atmosphere and explain the character of Tiberius. Furthermore, why should the trial of Cordus be introduced? And lastly, even Gifford admits that the play ends badly, that is, that it is prolonged beyond the proper point.¹

III

About 1600 the historical drama flourished with greater vigor than it has since. The Elizabethans demanded action above all, and the records of the past furnished an extensive store of plots and incidents. Every writer was freely conceded the right of hand-

¹ Castelain, *Ben Jonson*, p. 506, goes so far as to insist, speaking of the comedies, that Jonson had no constructive faculty, and that the structural excellence of *The Alchemist* was a happy accident; 'à vrai dire, même pour un Anglais, il composait mal.'

ling these in the manner would best serve him with his public, and the natural result was that historical matter of every sort was utilized for every conceivable purpose and treated in every conceivable way.

Up to the time of Marlowe, it does not appear that any dramatist who dealt with historical material considered that material as at all different from any other that he might employ. Bale and Preston used it for didactic and controversial purposes; Sackville and Norton tried to fashion out of it a tragedy after Seneca; in the *Famous Victories of Henry V* it served to arouse laughter and tickle national pride. On every hand historical material, or what passed for such, as in the case of *Gorboduc*, underwent the freest treatment, while material that the writers knew was not historical was lavishly introduced. Even in Marlowe's *Tamburlaine*, there is no trace of anything that we should call the historical spirit. That appears first in his series of chronicle-plays, of which the last is *Edward II*, composed apparently about 1592.¹

In *Edward II* Marlowe handles his material very freely in the way of omissions, changes in detail, and so on, and yet some motive other than that of mere alteration for stage purposes seems to guide him. Edward II was a weak prince, given over to favorites and surrounded by a turbulent nobility. In that formula lay for

¹ I assume that there is to-day general agreement as to the conclusions of Miss Jane Lee with regard to the share, apparently the predominating share, of Marlowe in the *First Part of the Contention*, the *True Tragedy of Richard Duke of York*, and the three parts of *Henry VI*. Mr. Charles Crawford, *Collectanea*, 1, 79, states that he is prepared to prove that Marlowe had no hand in these plays; but I believe that he has not yet published his evidence.

Marlowe the key to the events of 1307-1327. Neither the soundness of his instinct nor the excellence of his play comes here into question; we are interested solely in the fact that he apparently desired to get below the surface of events and elucidate their central or binding principle.

Shakespeare dealt with history in a manner perhaps directly learned from Marlowe. He seems indeed in his Roman plays to have conceived his figures as human beings under Roman rule, Jonson to have tried to conceive his as distinctly Romans. It is true enough that in *Coriolanus* and *Julius Caesar* Shakespeare has given expression to the activity of deep-lying historical forces, in the one case the struggle between patrician and plebeian, in the other between a devitalized republicanism and overshadowing tyranny; yet the social conflict was surely subordinate to human personality in action, and is present largely because Shakespeare's insight forbade him to depict character except under the conditions of its development. He philosophized history for dramatic reasons, and he nowhere attempts to do more than give the essence of the situation as a basis for human action. But merely the essence of the situation as a basis for action did not suffice Jonson. He wished to present not only that, but a picture of the time as complete in detail as the paintings of a Dutch realist. His object was the production of a 'Kulturbild,'¹ and every aspect of Ro-

¹ It is this fact that explains the presence of scenes that are in his best satirically comic vein (*Sejanus*, II, i; *Catiline*, II), and that seemed to Dryden (*Essay of Dramatic Poesy*) 'of an ill mingle with the rest.' They are essential elements of the social picture, the

man daily life was grist to his mill in tragedy as in comedy. Manners were as much the subject of his attention in the one as in the other, and if the phrase were not absurd, we might go so far as to call *Sejanus* a 'tragedy of manners.'¹ At least, it strongly reminds us of Coleridge's remarks on the school of Pope in the *Biographia Literaria*: "I saw that the excellence of this kind consisted in just and acute observations on men and manners in an artificial state of society, as its matter and substance." Thus Jonson's plays are mosaics, constructed of fragments taken from this writer and that and fitted together with admirable literary skill; Shakespeare, on the other hand, rests content perhaps with a single historical authority. Thus Jonson writes his plays with a distinctly satirical purpose, whereas Shakespeare desires merely to depict human life. Thus Jonson is deeply influenced by Seneca, writes rhetorical tragedy, and his plays are mines of classical learning; Shakespeare ignores Seneca, writes tragedies that keep the stage, and we wonder whether he could read his Plutarch in the original.²

completeness of which Dryden himself recognizes in another passage in the same essay: "With the spoils of these writers he so represents old Rome to us, in its rites, ceremonies, and customs, that if one of their poets had written either of his tragedies, we had seen less of it than in him." He is more Roman than the Romans themselves.

¹ For interesting remarks, with which I cannot wholly agree, as to whether Jonson, 'as dramatist, was not really a poet, but a painter,' see Castelain, 541, and the passage there quoted from Barrett Wendell's *Temper of the Seventeenth Century in English Literature*.

² "Jonson n'a pas donné une idée aussi exacte, une conception

So historical realism first enters the English drama — may we not indeed say the modern drama? — with Jonson. He is the first dramatist to “take away the liberty of a poet, and fetter his feet in the shackles of an historian.” How far he carries this realism it needs but a glance at such scenes as III, i, and V, iv, to perceive. It was a trait fostered by the whole spirit of Latin literature, and intimately bound up with his own satirical and didactic purpose.

But does historical realism interfere with the exercise of the historical spirit in the larger sense? Does minute attention to detail obstruct the clear presentation of the forces at work? How far is Jonson’s picture, not merely realistic but true?

In *Sejanus* are mirrored the servility of most of the nobles, the discontent of a small number who sigh for the ‘old liberty,’ the absolute selfishness of the courtiers, the ease and impunity with which great crimes could be committed, a head of the state given over to unmentionable lusts, in short, what used to be thought of as the profound decay of Roman society. With the same all-embracing learning which made him ‘special en tout genre,’ Jonson treated this one. Hardly a minor incident, hardly a speech is there, which, whether original or not with Jonson, does not find its warrant in contemporary authority. One gets from him quite as *aussi nette du monde romain que Shakespeare, avec toutes ses fautes et tous ses anachronismes*. Le classique Jonson a reproduit le costume, l’enveloppe extérieure du vrai Romain, le romantique Shakespeare a mieux sondé l’âme romaine et nous l’a mieux fait connaître.” Charlanne, *L’Influence Française en Angleterre au XVII^e Siècle*, 267.

vivid a picture of the state of society as from Tacitus and Juvenal.

Obviously one must not speak too strongly. Jonson was a professed satirist, who drew his material in the main from satirical writers, and this fact alone would make us suspect exaggeration. Indeed we know to-day that Roman society, even in the time of Sejanus, was hardly so corrupt as our ancestors thought it, that Lucullus, Apicius, Vitellius, the Golden House of Nero, in sum, the names and incidents that have in the past been regarded as typical of Rome's social decay, of her prodigality and luxury, were doubtless in reality somewhat exceptional, that the standard by which her moralists and satirists condemned her was different from ours, more rigid frequently, and in some ways based upon a false conception of social and economic forces. We know too that luxury has attained a greater absolute and perhaps even relative height in modern times than ever during antiquity, and that there have been later periods than the Roman in which the corruption of morals and manners has been doubtless at least as great. We know that there must have been within the Roman state some magazine of social strength upon which it could draw for sustenance and cohesion.¹

Yet our knowledge of these facts rests on a foundation laid since Jonson's day. It rests on the accumulated results of decade on decade of diligent historical study, upon the maintenance of a point of view attained only through trial after trial of misleading paths, and upon

¹ Friedlaender, *Sittengeschichte Roms*; Dill, *Roman Society from Nero to Marcus Aurelius*.

a conception of human life and progress that three centuries ago came barely within the circle of the most extravagant speculation. By no possibility could any Elizabethan have come to such conclusions. Accuracy for Jonson consisted necessarily in the reproduction of Tacitus and the satirists, as faithfully as conditions of dramatic presentation would permit. And even for us his inaccuracy lies, not in any perversion of the truth, but solely in an unavoidable deepening in tone of the whole picture.

In some slight degree, perhaps, this exaggeration may have had a different cause. As a professed satirist and censor of morals, Jonson doubtless read history with an eye upon the busy London life about him.¹ When he read the words put by Sallust into the mouth of Catiline about the ever-growing luxury of the Roman nobles, it would be natural for him to remember that within his own lifetime the wealth of England had increased remarkably and with it the scale of living. Perhaps in no century has English life undergone a greater change than from 1550-1660. It was a period of great wealth and great expenditure, of rapid revolution in fashion, of the introduction of new forms of enjoyment, of tearing down old castles and erecting in their stead great mansions, of spending fortunes in making a social figure, features of the time which he has abundantly illustrated in his comedy.² Nor were there lacking

¹ Does he not practically admit this when he says in the extract quoted from *The Magnetic Lady* that he continued "in *all* his plays, . . . some recent humours still, or manners of men, that *went along with the times*" ? The italics are mine.

² See Drayton, *Polyolbion*, xvi, 340 ff.

minor parallels. The conspiracy of Essex might be distantly compared to that of Sejanus or Catiline. The needy soldiers of Sylla found their descendants in the numerous army of poor soldiers that begged on the London streets. If the Senate burned books, so did Parliament. Elizabeth and James lacked neither flatterers nor favorites. Above all, society seemed to become more and more corrupt with the rapid departure from the older ideals of English life. That Jonson should have felt it worth while to point a moral for his own time, and to point it sharply, is not difficult to believe.

Allowances must then be made before we can call Jonson's pictures of Roman society faithful to the original. Making these allowances, however, we may say that they are truthful and vivid studies of two epochs in Roman life.¹ Far from confounding the characteristics of the two, Jonson has kept them distinctly apart. The vices and the crimes of the one are not the vices and the crimes of the other. A conspiracy like that of Cat-

¹ "Take it [*Catiline*] and *Sejanus*, as compositions of a particular kind, namely, as a mode of relating great historical events in the liveliest and most interesting manner, and I cannot help wishing that we had whole volumes of such plays. We might as rationally expect the excitement of the *Vicar of Wakefield* from Goldsmith's *History of England*, as that of *Lear*, *Othello*, &c. from the *Sejanus* or *Catiline*." Coleridge, *Works*, iv, 193. In other words, Jonson fulfills here Boissier's ideal: "Une table des matières, contenant les principaux faits, relatés à leur date, avec un renvoi aux dissertations savantes qui les ont élucidés, ne ferait pas notre affaire. Nous souhaitons qu'on nous en donne le spectacle, nous voulons les voir; or, c'est véritablement un art, le plus rare, le plus précieux peut-être de tous les arts, que de savoir leur rendre la vie; d'où il suit qu'un historien, en même temps qu'un savant, a besoin d'être un artiste." *Tacite*, 60-61.

iline would not have had the least chance of success under the closely organized rule of Tiberius. Under the latter, there was only an opportunity for court intrigue ; the court, not society at large, is the centre of interest, and the whole tone of *Sejanus* as compared with that of *Catiline*, is true to the passage from a republic to a tyranny.

Society too is more degenerate in the later period ; “*nihil prisci et integri moris*” is the lament of Tacitus. However widespread indeed had been the vices of the republic, there had yet existed a soundness of thought and feeling that made it possible to save the state. Cato was still alive. A hundred years later it is a question, not of saving the state, but of changing emperors,¹ and the appeal is made, not to virtue and patriotism, but to purely selfish motives. The nobles have become flatterers ; the saving remnant is gradually exterminated ; the delator has come into being. Self-seeking, flattery, servility, cowardice, are the striking features of public life. Jonson has caught the difference between the two epochs of Roman history.

From the point of view then of harmonizing, so far as the knowledge of his day permitted, these two things, historical realism and the historical spirit, Jonson produced in *Sejanus*, and for that matter in *Catiline* also, a masterpiece ; each is the achievement of a great historian. Unfortunately, his dramatic method was unsuited to his purpose, for the old method of Seneca and the Greeks obviously cannot be successfully employed with

¹ Tacitus, *Histories*, II, 38 : et nunquam postea nisi de principatu quaesitum.

a purely realistic design. Tiberius surrounded by a chorus of Roman nobles, chanting over his intimate plans in melodious verse! Jonson felt that absurdity and made the best of the case by inserting the group of Aruntius, Sabinus, Lepidus, and Silius. They fulfill some of the functions of a chorus, mingling in the plot and commenting on it for the spectator's benefit. True, their prominence means loss of dramatic action as we think of it, but dramatic action as such he did not regard as an end in itself. What he did try to do was to cast material, toward which he felt a scrupulous duty of accurate representation, into a form approximating as closely as conditions permitted that of older tragedy. Necessarily there resulted a conflict between historical realism and the traditional conception of tragic form.

This scrupulosity of artistic conscience involved him in further dramatic difficulties. The part of Tacitus dealing with the later stage of Sejanus's conspiracy is lost. Dio, who forms Jonson's principal authority for that portion of the play, gives us little of the information we have already pointed out as desirable. Hence Jonson could not give to Sejanus a more active rôle without adding more than he thought himself justified in doing.¹ In other words, his desire to be historically accurate prevents him from giving to the figure of Sejanus in the

¹ The only suggestion we have in the play as to the exact steps Sejanus intended to take are in II, ii, *ad fin.*, where he apparently intends to make Tiberius so hated as to excite an uprising, then sacrifice him to the people's rage, and ride to supreme power on a wave of popular favor. The measures he takes in V, iv, are merely extemporized measures of self-protection, and the attack of Tiberius really finds him quite unprepared.

latter part the needed strength and energy, and it is for this reason that Sejanus becomes a passive figure, and that we have the shift of emphasis earlier remarked.

Inclining to the didacticism of tragedy, Jonson also stood in contrast to the generality of his competitors. The writer of chronicle history, for example, wished only to interest his public. If he had any lesson to teach, it was of the greatness and glory of the English nation, a lesson of patriotism. But even this, we may suspect, was only by the way. In the main, his desire was to supply dramatic amusement, and he made use of history because that was in public favor. To be sure, we may occasionally discover a tendency in his work, as in the case of the play of *Sir John Oldcastle*, apparently a Puritan protest against the character of Falstaffe, to whom Shakespeare had at first given the name of Oldcastle; it is true that occasionally his work was made to serve a more markedly partisan aim, as in the performance of the play of *Richard II* (whether Shakespeare's or not) just before the rebellion of the Earl of Essex; it is true that the chronicle history was violently anti-Spanish, anti-Catholic. But these facts cannot be made to show that it was didactic. That it incidentally taught the people a rude kind of history is doubtless true; we have no reason to believe, however, that, more than any other kind of drama, it taught them morals.

So with the historical drama treating foreign themes. It was occasionally a semi-controversial weapon, as in Barnes' *Devil's Charter*, a highly colored melodrama of the lives and crimes of the Borgias. Chapman's historical plays, too, though not didactic as regards the

action and characters, were markedly so in respect to the profusely sententious and reflective dialogue. In general, however, the Elizabethan playwright dramatized history for stage purposes alone, and troubled himself little about the lessons drawn from his work by the public, so long at least as they were not such as to get him into the law's disfavor. If his play exerted a moral influence, it was only as every work of art does, by being true to life.

And thus in conclusion we might return to the earlier comparison of Jonson's tragedies and comedies, and say that the dramatic faults of both are in some measure due to the same cause, namely, that he wrote so often with an extra-dramatic purpose. Sometimes, even in the best of his comedies, he will use a stage figure as the mere mouthpiece of his own strictures on society; his characters, that is, sometimes speak out of character through the overmastering desire on the part of their creator to rebuke vice and folly. It is hardly straining a point to feel that Sabinus, Lepidus, Arruntius, in the play before us sometimes give utterance to sentiments that are Jonson's rather than their own, and his obvious desire to embody a moral shows clearly that he did not write with an eye single to the stage; it was certainly no dramatic purpose that gave rise to the last one hundred and fifty lines. Unfortunately, the drama judges by conformity to dramatic requirements, and when these are violated makes little allowance for encyclopedic learning, extraordinary industry, force and vigor of language, depth of thought, minute analysis of character, profound moral sense, or high artistic ideals. Such qualities will

ensure a permanent place in literature, but not permanent possession of the stage.¹

¹ I had intended to discuss the question of the influence exerted on later seventeenth-century tragedy by Ben Jonson, but space forbids. In the notes are included a small number of passages, especially from Wilson's *Andronicus Comnenius*, that seem to have found their origin in *Sejanus*. A considerable mass of similar material, not all of it so striking, remains to be studied. I hope to be able to deal with some of it more at length.

THE TEXT

It was originally proposed that this volume should include both *Catiline* and *Sejanus*. As, however, Jonson's own notes to *Sejanus* could not be omitted, nor a satisfactory notion of his methods of writing tragedy be conveyed without frequent display of the material employed, and as, moreover, some explanation of Roman usages, social and other, seemed necessary, it was decided that but one play could be treated within the assigned limits.

The following texts have been collated: Q (Quarto 1605); F (Folio 1616). Of this edition I have seen three copies: one belonging to Mr. Otto Miller of Cleveland; one, FH, belonging to the Harvard Library; one, FP, to Professor Phelps of Yale; there are a number of important differences which have been carefully noted, but such minor disagreements in punctuation, etc., as do not affect the text are omitted); F₂ (Folio 1640); F₃ (Folio 1692); A (1716); W (Whalley 1756); C (1811 reprint of Whalley); G (Gifford 1816).

The aim has been to give an accurate reproduction of F except typographically. The use of u's, v's, i's, j's, and long s's is modernized, and the marginal matter is rearranged: a few comments remain in the margin in small italics, but everything that could be interpreted as stage-direction is drawn into the text. All other intentional variations from F are noted as they occur; they are very few, as emendation has been avoided on Uncle Toby's principle that in mending the sense one runs great danger of spoiling the letter.

Jonson's own notes, which are placed among those of the editor, are found in Q, but not in the Folios or A. Gifford was the first to reproduce them as a whole, though Whalley made occasional use of them. One or two are found in the Folios as marginal notes. Gifford occasionally misprints and omits, but no collation is given.

The variant readings are selective merely. Most misprints are not noticed, except when occurring in F. The following classes of variants are omitted: differences in spelling and punctuation, except where the text is directly affected; expansions (usually originating

with Gifford) like 'who is' for 'who's,' 'to erect' for 't'erec,' 'you are' for 'yo' are'; insertion of e in the past participle and in forms like *ministring*, *whispring*, *offring*, etc.; the regular modernization of forms like *strooke* (*struck*), *then* (*than*), *whether* (*whither*); differences like *inough*, *enough*, *intreat*, *entreat*, *imbrace*, *embrace*, which seem no more than mere differences of spelling. The variants are usually spelled as in the editions in which they first occur, but there are perhaps a few violations of this rule.

Gifford was the first to divide into scenes, and his division is generally followed. Frequent use is made of his stage-directions without acknowledgment.

SEIANVS

his

FALL.

A Tragædie.

Acted, in the yeere 1603.

By the K. MAIESTIES
SERVANTS.

The Author B. I.

MART.

*Non hic Centauros; non Gorgonas, Harpyiasq̃
Inuenies: Hominem pagina nostra sapit.*

LONDON,

Printed by WILLIAM STANSBY,

M. DC. XVI.

TO THE NO LESSE

NOBLE, BY VERTUE,

THEN BLOOD :

ESME

L. AUBIGNY.

My Lord,

*If ever any ruine were so great, as to survive; I thinke
this be one I send you : The Fal of Sejanus. It is a poeme,
that (if I well remember) in your Lo. sight, suffer'd no
lesse violence from our people here, then the subject of it 5
did from the rage of the people of Rome ; but, with a dif-
ferent fate, as (I hope) merit : For this hath out-liw'd their
malice, and begot it selfe a greater favour then he lost, the
love of good men. Amongst whom, if I make your Lo.
the first it thanks, it is not without a just confession of the 10
bond your benefits have, and ever shall hold upon me.*

Your Lo. most faithfull honoror,

BEN. JONSON.

*To the . . . Jonson. Q, C, omit. F2, etc., usually expand such
contractions as Ld. for Lord, etc.*

2 be. A, to be.

[TO THE READERS.

The following, and voluntary Labours of my Friends, prefixt to my Booke, have releiv'd me in much, whereat (without them) I should necessarilie have touchd : Now, I will onely use three or foure short, and needfull Notes, and so rest.

5

First, if it be objected, that what I publish is no true *Poëme*; in the strict Lawes of *Time*. I confesse it : as also in the want of a proper *Chorus*, whose Habite, and Moodes are such, and so difficult, as not any, whome I have seene since the *Auntients*, (no not they who have most presently affected Lawes) have yet come in the way off. Nor is it needful, or almost possible, in these our Times, and to such Auditors, as commonly Things are presented, to observe the ould state, and splendour of *Drammatick Poëmes*, with preservation of any popular delight. But of this I shall take more seasonable cause to speake; in my Observation upon *Horace* his *Art of Poetry*, which (with the Text translated) I intend, shortly to publish. In the meane time, if in truth of Argument, dignity of Persons, gravity and height of Elocution, fulnesse and frequence of Sentence, I have discharg'd the other offices of a *Tragick* writer, let not the absence of these *Formes* be imputed to me, wherein I shall give you occasion hereafter (and without my boast) to thinke I could better prescribe, then omit the due use, for want of a convenient knowledge.

10

15

20

25

The next is, least in some nice nostrill, the *Quotations* might savour affected, I doe let you know, that I abhor nothing more; and have onely done it to shew my integrity

To . . . Readers. F, F2, F3, A, C omit these two pages.

17 Observation. W, G, observations.

29 have. W, G, I have.

in the *Story*, and save my selfe in those common Tortur- 30
ers, that bring all wit to the Rack: whose Noses are ever
like Swine spoyling, and rooting up the *Muses* Gardens,
and their whole Bodies, like Moles, as blindly working
under Earth to cast any, the least, hilles upon *Vertue*.

Whereas, they are in *Latine* and the worke in *English*, 35
it was presupposd, none but the Learned would take the
paynes to conferre them, the Authors themselves being
all in the learned *Tongues*, save one, with whose English
side I have had little to doe: To which it may be required,
since I have quoted the Page, to name what Editions I 40
follow'd. *Tacit. Lips.* in 4°. *Antwerp. edit.* 600. *Dio.*
Folio. Hen. Step 92. For the rest, as *Sueton. Seneca. &c.*
the Chapter doth sufficiently direct, or the Edition is not
varied.

Lastly, I would informe you, that this Booke, in all 45
nūbers, is not the same with that which was acted on
the publike Stage, wherein a second Pen had good share:
in place of which I have rather chosen, to put weaker
(and no doubt lesse pleasing) of mine own, then to de-
fraud so happy a *Genius* of his right, by my lothed usur- 50
pation.

Fare you well. And if you read farder of me, and like,
I shall not be afraid of it though you praise me out.

Neque enim mihi cornea fibra est.

But that I should plant my felicity, in your generall say- 55
ing *Good*, or *Well*, &c. were a weaknesse which the better
sort of you might worthily contenme, if not absolutely
hate me for.

BEN. JONSON. and no such.

Quem Palma negata macrum, donata reducit opimum.]

49 to. W omits.

[IN SEJANUM

Ben. Jonson]

Et Musis, et sibi
in Deliciis.

*So brings the wealth-contracting Jeweller
Pearles and deare Stones, from richest shores &
streames,
As thy accomplisht Travaile doth confer
From skill-inriched soules, their wealthier Gems ;
So doth his hand enchase in ammeld Gould, 5
Cut, and adordnd beyond their Native Merits,
His solid Flames, as thine hath here inrould
In more then Goulden Verse, those betterd spirits ;
So he entreasures Princes Cabinets,
As thy Wealth will their wished Libraries ; 10
So, on the throate of the rude Sea, he sets
His ventrous foote, for his illustrious Prise ;
And through wilde Desarts, armd with wilder
Beasts,
As thou adventurst on the Multitude,*

These commendatory poems are in full only in Q ; F2 omits all of them ; F, F3 print them in part at the beginning of the volume. Variants are given only from F, using Q as basis.

In Sejanum. F, Upon Sejanus.

Upon the boggy, and engulfed breasts 15
Of Hyrelings, sworne to finde most Right, most
rude :

And he, in stormes at Sea, doth not endure,
Nor in vast Desarts, amongst Woolves, more dan-
ger ;

Then we, that would with Vertue live secure,
Sustaine for her in every Vices anger. 20

Nor is this Allegorie unjustly rackt,
to this strange length ; Onely that Jewels are,
In estimation meerely, so exact :

And thy worke, in it selfe, is deare and Rare.
Wherein Minerva had beene vanquished, 25
Had she, by it, her sacred Loomes advanc't,
And through thy subject woven her graphicke
Thread,

Contending therein, to be more entranc't ;
For, though thy hand was scarce addrest to drawe
The Semi-circle of Sejanus life, 30
Thy Muse yet makes it the whole Sphære, and
Lawe

To all State Lives : and bounds Ambitions strife.
And as a little Brooke creepes from his Spring,
With shallow tremblings, through the lowest
Vales,

As if he feard his streame abroad to bring, 35
Least prophane Feete should wrong it, and rude
Gales ;

But finding happy Channels, and supplies
Of other Fordes mixe with his modest course,
He growes a goodly River, and descries
The strength, that mannd him, since he left his
Source ; 40
Then takes he in delightsome Meades, and Groves,
And, with his two-edg'd waters, flourishes
Before great Palaces, and all Mens Loves
Build by his shores, to greete his Passages :
So thy chaste Muse, by vertuous selfe-mistrust, 45
Which is a true Marke of the truest Merit,
In Virgin feare of Mens illiterate Lust,
Shut her soft wings, and durst not showe her
spirit ;
Till, nobly cherisht, now thou lett'st her flie,
Singing the sable Orgies of the Muses, 50
And in the highest Pitche of Tragedie,
Mak'st her command, al things thy Ground pro-
duces.
But, as it is a Signe of Loves first firing,
Not Pleasure by a lovely Presence taken,
And Bouldnesse to attempt ; but close Retiring, 55
To places desolate, and Fever-shaken ;
So, when the love of Knowledge first affects us,
Our Tongues doe falter, and the Flame doth rove
Through our thinne spirits, and of feare detects us
T'attaine her Truth, whom we so truely love. 60

*Nor can (saith Aeschilus) a faire young Dame
Kept long without a Husband, more containe
Her amorous eye, from breaking forth in flame,
When she beholds a Youth that fits her vaine ;
Then any mans first taste of Knowledge truly 65
Can bridle the affection she inspireth :
But let it flie on Men, that most unduly
Haunt her with hate, and all the Loves she
fireth.*

*If our Teeth, Head, or but our Finger ake,
We straight seeke the Phisitian ; If a Fever, 70
Or any curefull maladie we take,
The grave Phisitian is desired ever :
But if proud Melancholie, Lunacie,
Or direct Madnesse over-heate our braines,
We Rage, Beate out, or the Phisitian flie, 75
Loosing with vehemence, even the sense of
Paines.*

*So of Offenders, they are past recure,
That with a tyranous spleene, their stings extend
Gainst their Reprovers ; They that will endure
All discreete Discipline, are not said t'offend. 80
Though others qualified, then, with Naturall skill,
(More sweete mouthd, and affecting shrewder
wits)*

*Blanche Coles, call Illnesse, good, and Goodnesse ill,
Breath thou the fire, that true-spoke Knowledge
fits.*

Thou canst not then be Great? yes. Who is he, 85
(Said the good Spartane King) greater then I,
That is not likewise juster? No degree
can boast of emminence, or Emperie,
(As the great Stagerite held) in any One
Beyond Another, whose Soule farther sees, . 90
And in whose Life the Gods are better knowne :
Degrees of Knowledge difference all Degrees.
Thy Poëme, therefore, hath this due respect,
That it lets passe nothing, without observing,
Worthy Instruction; or that might correct 95
Rude manners, and renowme the well deserving :
Performing such a lively Evidence
in thy Narrations, that thy Hearers still
Thou turnst to thy Spectators; and the sense
That thy Spectators have of good or ill, 100
Thou inject'st joyntly to thy Readers soules.
So deare is held, so deckt thy numerous Taske,
As thou putt'st handles to the Thespian Boules,
Or stuckst rich Plumes in the Palladian Caske.
All thy worth, yet, thyselfe must Patronise, 105
By quaffing more of the Castalian Head ;
In expiscation of whose Mysteries,
Our Netts must still be clogd, with heavy Lead,
To make them sincke, and catche : For cheerefull
Gould,
Was never found in the Pierian Streames, 110

*But Wants, and Scornes, and Shames for silver
sould.*

*What, what shall we elect in these extreames ?
Now by the Shafts of the great CYRRHAN Poet,
That beare all light, that is, about the world ;
I would have all dull Poet-Haters know it, 115
They shall be soule-bound, and in darkenesse
hurld,*

*A thousand yeares, (as Sathan was, their Syre)
Ere Any worthy, the Poetique Name,
(Might I, that warme but, at the Muses fire,
Presume to guard it) should let Deathlesse Fame 120
Light halfe a beame of all her hundred Eyes,
At his dimme Taper, in their memories.*

*Flie, flie, you are to neare ; so odorous Flowers
being held too neere the Sensor of our Sense,
Render not pure, nor so sincere their powers, 125
As being held a little distance thence ;*

Because much troubled Earthy parts improve them :

*Which mixed with the odors we exhall,
Do vitiate what we drawe in. But remoove them
A little space, the Earthy parts do fall, 130
And what is pure, and hote by his tenuitye,
is to our powers of Savor purely borne.*

*But flie, or staie : Use thou the assiduitie,
Fit for a true Contemner of their scorne.*

118 *Any worthy, the. F, any, worthy the.*

127-158 *Because . . . propagate. F omits.*

Our Phœbus may, with his exempling Beames, 135
 Burne out the webs from their Arachnean eyes,
 Whose Knowledge (Day-star to all Diadems)
 Should banish knowledge-hating Policies :
 So others, great in the Scientiall grace,
 His Chancelor, fautor of all humane Skils ; 140
 His Treasurer, taking them into his Place,
 Northumber, that, with them, his Crescent
 flis,
 Grave Worc'ster, in whose Nerves they guard
 their fire,
 Northampton, that to all his height in bloud,
 Heightens his soule, with them, And Devon-
 shire, 145
 In whom their Streams, ebd to their Spring, are
 Floud,
 Oraculous Salisburie, whose inspired voice,
 In State proportions, sings their misteries,
 And (though last Namd) first, in whom They re-
 joyce,
 To whose true worth, They vow most obsequies, 150
 Most Noble Suffolke, who by Nature Noble,
 And judgement vertuous, cannot fall by Fortune,
 Who when our Hearde, came not to drinke, but
 trouble
 The Muses waters, did a Wall importune,
 (Midst of assaults) about their sacred River : 155
 In whose behalves, my poore Soule, (consecrate

To poorest Vertue) to the longest Liver,
 His Name, in spite of Death, shall propagate.
 O could the World but feele how sweete a touch
 A good Deed hath in one in love with Good-
 nesse, 16e
 (If Poesie were not ravished so much,
 And her compositde Rage, held the simplest
 Woodnesse,
 Though of all heates, that temper humane braines,
 Hers ever was most subtle, high, and holy,
 First binding savadge Lives, in civile Chaines : 165
 Solely religious, and adored solely,
 If men felt this) they would not thinke a Love,
 That gives it selfe, in her, did vanities give ;
 Who is (in Earth, though lowe) in Worth above,
 Most able t'honour Life, though least to live. 170
 And so good Friend, safe passage to thy
 Freight,
 To thee a long Peace, through a vertuous
 strife,
 In which, lets both contend to Vertues height,
 Not making Fame our Object, but good life.
 160 A . . . Goodnesse F, The Knowledge hath, which is in
 love with goodnesse.

Come forth SEJANUS, fall before this Booke,
 And of thy *Falles Reviver*, aske forgivenessse,
 That thy lowe Birth and Merits, durst to looke
 A Fortune in the face, of such unevennesse ;
 For so his fervent love to *Vertue*, hates, 5
 That her pluckt plumes should wing *Vice* to
 such calling,
 That he presents thee to all marking *States*,
 As if thou hadst beene all this while in fall-
 ing.
 His strong Arme plucking, from the *Midle-*
world,
Fames Brazen House, and layes her Towre as
 low, 10
 As HOMERS *Barathrum* ; that, from Heaven hurld,
 Thou might'st fall on it : and thy Ruines
 growe
 To all Posterities, from his worke, the
 Ground,
 And under Heav'n, nought but his *Song*
 might sound.

HAEC COMMENTATUS EST 15

Georgius Chapmannus.

1-14 *Come . . . sound.* Omitted by F. The signature is merely *Geor. Chapman*, omitting *Haec*, etc.

For his worthy Friend, the Author.

In that, this Booke doth deigne SEJANU'S name,
 Him unto more, then *Cæsars* Love, it brings :
 For, where he could not with Ambition's
 wings,
 One Quill doth heave him to the height of
 Fame.

Yee great-Ones though, (whose ends may be the
 same,) 5
 Know, that (how ever we do flatter *Kings*)
 Their Favours (like themselves) are fading
 things,
 With no lesse Envie had, then lost with
 Shame.

Nor make your selves lesse honest then you are, 10
 To make our Author wiser then he is :
 Ne of such Crimes accuse him, which I
 dare

By all his *Muses* sweare, be none of his.
 The Men are not, some Faults may be these
 Times :
 He acts those Men, and they did act these
 Crimes. 15

HUGH HOLLAND.

For his. F, To his, etc., and in margin, Upon Sejanus.

To the deserving Author.

When I respect thy argument, I see
 An Image of those *Times* : but when I view
 The wit, the workmanship, so rich, so true,
 The *Times* themselves do seeme retri'd to me.
 And as *Sejanus*, in thy *Tragedie*, 5
 Falleth from *Cæsars* grace ; even so the
 Crew
 Of common *Play-wrights*, whom Opinion
 blew
 Big with false greatnesse, are disgrac'd by thee.
 Thus, in one *Tragedie*, thou makest twaine :
 And, since faire workes of Justice fit the part 10
 Of *Tragick* writers, *Muses* doe ordaine
 That all *Tragedians*, Maisters of their Arte,
 Who shall hereafter follow on this tract,
 In writing well, thy *Tragedie* shall acte.

CYGNUS.

To the deserving. This and the remaining commendatory poems
 are omitted by F.

To his learned, and beloved Friend,

upon his aequall worke.

SEJANUS, great, and eminent in *Rome*,
Rays'd above all the *Senate*, both in grace
Of *Princes* favour, authority, place,
And popular dependance; yet, how soone,
Even with the instant of his overthrowe, 5
Is all this Pride and Greatnesse now forgot,
(Onely that in Former grace he stood not)
By them which did his State, not Treason
knowe!

His very Flatterers, that did adorne
Their neckes with his rich *Meddales*, now in
flame 10

Consume them, and would loose even his Name,
Or else recite it with reproach, or scorne!
This was his *Romane* Fate. But now thy *Muse*
To us that neither knew his Height, nor Fall,
Hath rays'd him up with such memoriall, 15
All future States and Times his name shall use.
What, not his Good, nor Ill could once extend
To the next Age, thy Verse, *industrious*,
And *learned Friend*, hath made illustrious
To this. Nor shall his, or thy fame have end. 20

Tb. R.

Amicis, amici nostri dignissimi, dignissimis,

Epigramma.

D.

JOHANNES MARSTONIUS.

YEE ready Friendes, spare your unneedfull
Bayes,
This worke dispairefull Envie must even praise :

Phoebus hath voic'd it, loud, through ecchoing
skies,
SEJANUS FALL *shall force thy Merit rise.*

For never English shall, or hath before 5
Spoake fuller grac'd. He could say much, not
more.

Upon SEJANUS.

How high a Poore man showes in low estate
 Whose Base is firme, and whole Frame com-
 petent,
 That sees this *Cedar*, made the Shrub of Fate,
 Th'on's little, lasting; Th'others confluence
 spent.
 And as the Lightning comes behind the Thunder 5
 From the torne Cloud, yet first invades our
 Sense,
 So every violent Fortune, that to wonder
 Hoists men aloft, is a cleere evidence
 Of a vaunt-curring blow the *Fates* have given
 To his forst state : swift Lightning blindes his
 eyes, 10
 While Thunder from comparison-hating Heaven
 Dischargeth on his height, and there it lyes :
 If men will shun swolne *Fortunes* ruinous blastes,
 Let them use Temperance. Nothing violent
 lastes.

William Strachey.

To him that hath so excell'd on
this excellent subject.

Thy *Poeme* (pardon me) is meere deceit.
 Yet such deceate, as thou that dost beguile,
 Are juster farre then they who use no wile :
 And they who are deceived by this feat,
 More wise, then such who can eschewe thy cheat. 5
 For thou hast given each parte so just a
 stile,
 That Men suppose the Action now on file ;
 (And Men suppose, who are of best conceat.)
 Yet some there be, that are not moov'd
 hereby,
 And others are so quick, that they will spy 10
 Where later Times are in some speech enweav'd ;
 Those wary Simples, and these simple Elfes :
 They are so dull, they cannot be deceav'd,
 These so unjust, they will decêave them-
 selves.

ΦΙΛΟΕ.

To the most understanding Poet.

Whē in the GLOBES faire Ring, our worlds best
Stage,

I saw *Sejanus*, set with that rich foyle,
I look't the Author should have borne the
spoile

Of conquest, from the Writers of the Age :

But when I veiw'd the Peoples beastly rage, 5
Bent to confound thy grave, and learned
toile,

That cost thee so much sweat, and so much
oyle,

My indignation I could hardly 'asswage.

And many there (in passion) scarce could tell

Whether thy fault, or theirs deserv'd most
blame ;

Thine, for so shewing, theirs, to wrong the
same :

But both they left within that doubtfull Hell.

From whence, this Publication setts thee
free :

They, for their Ignorance, still damned bee.

Ev. B.]

THE ARGUMENT.

Aelius Sejanus, *sonne* to Seius Strabo, a gentleman of Rome, and borne at Vulsinium, after his long service in court, first, under Augustus; afterward, Tiberius: grew into that favour with the latter, and won him by those artes, as there wanted nothing, but the name, to make him a 5
copartner of the Empire. Which greatnesse of his, Drusus, the Emperors sonne not brooking, after many smother'd dislikes (it one day breaking out) the Prince strooke him publicly on the face. To revenge which disgrace, Livia, the wife of Drusus (being before corrupted by him to her 10
dishonour, and the discovery of her husbands counsell) Sejanus practiseth with, together with her Physitian, called Eudemus, and one Lygdus, an Eunuch, to poyson Drusus. This their inhumane act having successefull, and unsus-
pected passage, it emboldeneth Sejanus to farther, & more 15
insolent projects, even the ambition of the Empire: where finding the lets, he must encounter, to be many, & hard, in respect of the issue of Germanicus (who were next in hope for the succession) he deviseth to make Tiberius selfe, his
meanes: & instill's into his eares many doubts, and sus- 20
picions, both against the Princes, and their mother Agrip-
pina: which Cæsar jealously hearkning to, as covetously consenteth to their ruine, and their friends. In this time, the better to mature and strengthen his designe, Sejanus

19 for the succession. Q omits. See note, p. 202.

24 Sejanus. Q, FP, Hec.

labors to marry Livia, and worketh (with all his ingine) 25
 to remove Tiberius from the knowledge of publike busi-
 nesse, with allurements of a quiet and retyred life: the
 latter of which, Tiberius (out of a pronenesse to lust, and
 a desire to hide those unnaturall pleasures, which he could
 not so publikely practise) embraceth: the former inkindleth 30
 his feares, and there, gives him first cause of doubt, or
 suspect toward Sejanus. Against whom, he raiseth (in
 private) a new instrument, one Sertorius Macro, and by
 him under-worketh, discovers the others counsell, his
 meanes, his ends, sounds the affections of the Senators, 35
 divides, distracts them: at last, when Sejanus least looketh,
 and is most secure (with pretext of doing him an un-
 wonted honour in the Senate) he traines him from his
 guardes, and with a long doubtfull letter, in one day,
 hath him suspected, accused, condemned, and torne in 40
 pieces, by the rage of the people.

27 retyred. Q, seperated.

32 toward. F3, etc., towards.

39 a long doubtfull letter, in. Q, FP, one Letter, & in one.

41 people. Q adds: This do we advance as a marke of Terror
 to all Traytors, & Treasons; to shewe how just the Heavens are in
 powring and thundring downe a weighty vengeance on their unnat-
 ural intents, even to the worst Princes: Much more to those, for
 guard of whose Piety and Vertue, the Angels are in continuall
 watch, and God himselfe miraculously working.

THE PERSONS OF THE PLAY.

TIBERIUS.

DRUSUS sc[nior].	SEJANUS.
NERO.	LATIARIS.
DRUSUS ju[nior].	VARRO.
CALIGULA.	[SERTORIUS] MACRO.
[LUCIUS] ARRUNTIVS.	COTTA.
[CAIVS] SILIVS.	[DOMITIIVS] APER.
[TITIIVS] SABINVS.	HATERIVS.
[MARCVS] LEPIDVS.	SANQVINIVS..
[CREMVTIVS] CORDVS.	POMPONIVS.
[ASINIIVS] GALLVS.	[IULIVS] POSTHVMVS.
REGVLVS.	[FULCINIIVS] TRIO.
TERENTIIVS.	MINVTIVS.
[GRACINVS] LACO.	SATRIIVS [SECUNDVS]
EVDENVS.	[PINNARIIVS] NATTA.
RVFVS.	OPSIIVS.

TRIBVNI.

AGRIFFINA } LIVIA.
 } SOSIA.

PRÆCONES.	LICTORES.
FLAMEN.	MINISTRI.
TVBICINES.	TIBICINES.
NVTIIVS.	SERV[i, etc.]

The Scene.

Rome.

The Persons, etc. Q, The Names of the Actors.

Lucius. Names in brackets first added by Gifford for reader's convenience, for Jonson often uses either name.

Servi, etc. Q-C, Servus.

Rome. Q omits.

Sejanus

ACT I.

[SCENE I. *A State Room in the Palace.*]

[*Enter*] *Sabinus, Silius, [followed by] Natta, Latiaris, Cordus, Satrius, Arruntius, Eudemus, Haterius, &c.*

Sabinus. Haile, Caius Silius.

Silius. Titius Sabinus, Haile.

Yo'are rarely met in court!

Sab. Therefore, well met.

Sil. 'Tis true: Indeed, this place is not our
sphære.

Sab. No, Silius, wee are no good inginers;
We want the fine arts, & their thriving use, 5
Should make us grac'd, or favour'd of the times:
We have no shift of faces, no cleft tongues,
No soft, and glutinous bodies, that can sticke,
Like snailes, on painted walls; or, on our brests,
Creepe up, to fall, from that proud height, to
which 10

We did by slaverie, not by service, clime.

Sabinus. Jonson, where the first speaker is the first person named
in the entrance, never prefixes the name to the opening speech.

5 *the. A, etc., their.*

We are no guilty men, and then no great ;
We have nor place in court, office in state,
That we can say, we owe unto our crimes :
We burne with no black secrets, which can
make

15

Us deare to the pale authors ; or live fear'd
Of their still waking jealousies, to raise
Our selves a fortune, by subverting theirs.
We stand not in the lines, that doe advance
To that so courted point.

[Enter Satrius and Natta at a distance.]

Sil. But yonder leane 20

20

A paire that doe.

(*Sab.* [*salutes Latiaris*]. Good cousin Latiaris.)

Sil. Satrius Secundus, and Pinnarius Natta,
The great Sejanus clients : There be two,
Know more, then honest counsellors : whose close
 breasts

Were they rip'd up to light, it would be found 25
A poore, and idle sinne, to which their trunks
Had not beene made fit organs. These can lye,
Flatter, and sweare, forswear, deprave, informe,
Smile, and betray ; make guilty men ; then beg
The forfeit lives, to get the livings ; cut 30
Mens throates with whisprings ; sell to gaping
sutors

13 *nor.* F2, etc., no. *state.* G, taste.

30 *the livings. A, etc., their livings.*

The emptie smoake, that flyes about the Palace;
 Laugh, when their patron laughes; sweat, when
 he sweates;

Be hot, and cold with him; change every moode,
 Habit, and garbe, as often as he varies; 35
 Observe him, as his watch observes his clocke;
 And true, as turkise in the deare lords ring,
 Looke well, or ill with him: ready to praise
 His lordship, if he spit, or but pisse faire,
 Have an indifferent stoole, or breake winde well, 40
 Nothing can scape their catch.

Sab.

Alas! these things

Deserve no note, confer'd with other vile,
 And filthier flatteries, that corrupt the times:
 When, not alone our gentries chiefe are faine
 To make their safety from such sordide acts, 45
 But all our Consuls, and no little part
 Of such as have beene Prætors, yea, the most
 Of Senators (that else not use their voyces)
 Start up in publique Senate, and there strive *Pedarii.*
 Who shall propound most abject things, and
 base, 50

37 *ring.* A, rings.

43 *flatteries.* F2, F3, A, Flatterers.

Pedarii. These stage-directions and comments are printed in the Folio in fine type in left or right margin, as is most convenient. In this edition the marginal comments are distinguished by smaller italic type from the marginal stage-directions, which have been drawn into the text.

So much, as oft Tiberius hath beene heard,
 Leaving the court, to crie, ô race of men,
 Prepar'd for servitude ! which shew'd, that, he
 Who least the publique liberty could like,
 As loathly brook'd their flat servilitie. 55

Sil. Well, all is worthy of us, were it more,
 Who with our ryots, pride, and civill hate,
 Have so provok'd the justice of the gods.
 We, that (within these fourescore yeeres) were
 borne

Free, equall lords of the triumphed world, 60
 And knew no masters, but affections,
 To which betraying first our liberties,
 We since became the slaves to one mans lusts ;
 And now to many : every ministring spie
 That will accuse, and sweare, is lord of you, 65
 Of me, of all, our fortunes, and our lives.
 Our lookes are call'd to question, and our wordes,
 How innocent soever, are made crimes ;
 We shall not shortly dare to tell our dreames,
 Or thinke, but 'twill be treason.

Sab. " Tyrannes artes 70
 " Are to give flatterers, grace ; accusers, power ;
 " That those may seeme to kill whom they de-
 voure.

[*Enter Cordus and Arruntius.*]
 Now good Cremutius Cordus.

66 *all.* F3, etc., omit comma.

Cordus. [*Salutes Sabinus*.] Haile, to your lordship!

Natta [*to Latiaris*]. Who's that salutes your cousin?
They whisper.

Latiaris. 'Tis one Cordus,

A gentleman of Rome: one, that has writ
Annal's of late, they say, and very well. 75

Nat. Annal's? of what times?

Lat. I thinke of Pompei's,
And Caius Caesars; and so downe to these.

Nat. How stands h'affected to the present state?

Is he or Drusian? or Germanican? 80
Or ours? or neutrall?

Lat. I know him not so far.

Nat. Those times are somewhat queasie to be toucht.

Have you or seene, or heard part of his worke?

Lat. Not I, he meanes they shall be publike shortly.

Nat. O. Cordus do you cal him?

Lat. I.

[*Exeunt Natta and Satrius.*]

Sab. But these our times 85

Are not the same, Arruntius.

79 h'. G, he. *It may be said once for all that G almost invariably practises this expansion, as well as the for th', as in l. 88. No further notice will be taken of them save where other considerations enter.*

Arruntius.

Times? the men,
 The men are not the same : 'tis we are base,
 Poore, and degenerate from th'exalted streine
 Of our great fathers. Where is now the soule
 Of god-like Cato ? he, that durst be good, 90
 When Caesar durst be evill ; and had power,
 As not to live his slave, to dye his master.
 Or where the constant Brutus, that (being
 prooffe
 Against all charme of benefits) did strike
 So brave a blow into the monsters heart 95
 That sought unkindly to captive his countrie ?
 O, they are fled the light. Those mightie spirits
 Lye rak'd up, with their ashes in their urnes,
 And not a sparke of their eternall fire
 Glowes in a present bosome. All's but blaze, 100
 Flashes, and smoke, wherewith we labour so,
 There's nothing Romane in us ; nothing good,
 Gallant, or great : 'Tis true, that Cordus say's,
Brave Cassius was the last of all that race.

Drusus passeth by [attended by Haterius, etc.]

Sab. Stand by, lord Drusus.

Haterius. Th'Emp'rours son, give place. 105

Sil. I like the prince well.

Arr. A riotous youth,

There's little hope of him.

Sab. That fault his age

93 *where.* F2, etc., where's.

Drusus . . . by. F, by ll. 105-06.

Will, as it growes, correct. Me thinkes, he
beares

Himselfe, each day, more nobly then other :

And wins no lesse on mens affections, 110

Then doth his father lose. Beleeve me, I love
him ;

And chiefly for opposing to Sejanus.

Sil. And I, for gracing his yong kinsmen so,
The sonnes of Prince Germanicus : It shewes
A gallant cleerenesse in him, a streight minde, 115
That envies not, in them, their fathers name.

Arr. His name was, while he liv'd, above all
envie ;

And being dead, without it. O, that man !
If there were seedes of the old vertue left,
They liv'd in him.

Sil. He had the fruits, Arruntius, 120
More then the seedes : Sabinus, and my selfe
Had meanes to know him, within ; and can re-
port him.

We were his followers, (he would call us
friends.)

He was a man most like to vertue' ; In all,
And every action, neerer to the gods, 125
Then men, in nature ; of a body'as faire
As was his mind ; and no lesse reverend

113 *kinsmen.* Q, kinsman.

127 *reverend.* C, reverent.

In face, then fame : He could so use his state,
 Temp'ring his greatnesse, with his gravitie,
 As it avoyded all selfe-love in him, 130
 And spight in others. What his funeralls lack'd
 In images, and pompe, they had supply'd
 With honourable sorrow, souldiers sadnesse,
 A kind of silent mourning, such, as men
 (Who know no teares, but from their captives)
 use 135

To shew in so great losses.

Cor. I thought once,
 Considering their formes, age, manner of deaths,
 The neerenesse of the places, where they fell,
 T'have paralell'd him with great Alexander :
 For both were of best feature, of high race, 140
 Yeer'd but to thirtie, and, in forraine lands,
 By their owne people, alike made away.

Sab. I know not, for his death, how you might
 wrest it :

But, for his life, it did as much disdaine
 Comparison, with that voluptuous, rash, 145
 Giddy, and drunken Macedon's, as mine
 Doth with my bond-mans. All the good, in him,
 (His valour, and his fortune) he made his ;
 But he had other touches of late Romanes,
 That more did speake him : Pompei's dignitie, 150
 The innocence of Cato, Caesar's spirit,
 Wise Brutus temp'rance, and every vertue,

Which, parted unto others, gave them name,
Flow'd mixt in him. He was the soule of good-
nesse :

And all our praises of him are like streames 155
Drawne from a spring, that still rise full, and
leave

The part remayning greatest.

Arr.

I am sure

He was too great for us, and that they knew
Who did remove him hence.

Sab.

When men grow fast

Honor'd, and lov'd, there is a tricke in state 160

(Which jealous princes never faile to use)

How to decline that growth, with faire pretext,
And honourable colours of employment,

Either by embassie, the war, or such,

To shift them forth into another aire, 165

Where they may purge, and lessen ; so was he :

And had his secon'ds there, sent by Tiberius,

And his more subtile damme, to discontent him ;

To breede, and cherish mutinies ; detract

His greatest actions ; give audacious check 170

To his commands ; and worke to put him out

In open act of treason. All which snares

When his wise cares prevented, a fine poyson

Was thought on, to mature their practices.

Cor. Here comes Sejanus.

Sil.

Now observe the stoupes, 175

The bendings, and the falls.

Arr. Most creeping base !
Sejanus, Satrius, Terentius, &c. They passe over the
stage.

Sejanus [to *Natta*]. I note 'hem well : No more.
 Say you.

Satrius. My lord,
 There is a gentleman of Rome would buy —
Sej. How cal you him you talk'd with ?
Sat. 'Please your lordship,
 It is Eudemus, the physitian 180
 To Livia, Drusu's wife.

Sej. On with your sute.
 Would buy, you said —
Sat. A Tribunes place, my lord.

Sej. What will he give ?

Sat. Fiftie sestertia.

Sej. Livia's physitian, say you, is that fellow ?

Sat. It is, my lord ; your lordships answere ?

Sej. To what ? 185

Sat. The place, my lord. 'Tis for a gentleman,
 Your lordship will well like off, when you see
 him ;

And one, you may make yours, by the grant.

Sej. Well, let him bring his money, and his
 name.

They . . . stage. Direction in small type in left margin.

177 *Say you.* G places at beginning of next line.

179 *How cal you.* W, C, How do you call.

188 *one, you.* W, C, G, one that you

189 *his money.* F2, F3, A, omit *his*.

Sat. Thanke your lordship. He shall, my lord.

Sej. Come hither. 190

Know you this same Eudemus? Is he learn'd?

Sat. Reputed so, my lord: and of deepe practice.

Sej. Bring him in, to me, in the gallerie;
And take you cause, to leave us there, together:
I would confer with him, about a griefe. — On. 195

[*Exeunt Sejanus, Satrius, Terentius, &c.*
Some clients remain.]

Arr. So, yet! another? yet? ô desperate state
Of grov'ling honour! Seest thou this, ô sunne,
And doe wee see thee after? Me thinkes, day
Should lose his light, when men doe lose their
shames,

And, for the emptie circumstance of life, 200
Betray their cause of living.

Sil. Nothing so.

Sejanus can repaire, if Jove should ruine.
He is the now court-god; And well applied
With sacrifice of knees, of crookes, and cringe,
He will doe more then all the house of heav'n 205
Can, for a thousand hecatombes. 'Tis he
Makes us our day, or night; Hell, and Elysium
Are in his looke: We talke of Rhadamanth,
Furies, and fire-brands; But 'tis his frowne

195 *On.* G begins a new line.

203 *the now.* G, now the.

204 *cringe.* G, cringes.

That is all these, where, on the adverse part, 210
 His smile is more, then ere (yet) Poets fain'd
 Of blisse, and shades, nectar —

Arr. A serving boy?

I knew him, at Caius trencher, when for hyre,
 He prostituted his abused body
 To that great gourmand, fat Apicius; 215
 And was the noted pathick of the time.

Sab. And, now, the second face of the whole
 world.

The partner of the empire, hath his image
 Rear'd equall with Tiberius, borne in ensignes,
 Command's, disposes every dignitie, 220
 Centurions, Tribunes, Heads of provinces,
 Prætors, and Consuls, all that heretofore
 Romes generall suffrage gave, is now his sale.
 The gaine, or rather spoile, of all the earth,
 One, and his house, receives.

Sil. He hath of late 225

Made him a strength too, strangely, by reducing
 All the Prætorian bands into one campe,
 Which he command's: pretending, that the
 souldier

By living loose, and scattered, fell to ryot;
 And that if any sodaine enterprise 230
 Should be attempted, their united strength
 Would be far more, then sever'd; and their life
 More strict, if from the citie more remov'd.

Sab. Where, now, he builds, what kind of
fort's he please,
Is hard to court the souldier, by his name, 235
Wooes, feasts the chiefeest men of action,
Whose wants, not loves, compell them to be his.
And, though he ne're were liberall by kind,
Yet, to his owne darke ends, hee's most profuse,
Lavish, and letting flye, he cares not what 240
To his ambition.

Arr. Yet, hath he ambition ?
Is there that step in state can make him higher?
Or more? or any thing he is, but lesse?

Sil. Nothing, but Emp'rour.

Arr. The name Tiberius
I hope, will keepe ; how ere he hath fore-gone 245
The dignitie, and power.

Sil. Sure, while he lives.

Arr. And dead, it comes to Drusus. Should he
fayle,

To the brave issue of Germanicus ;
And they are three : Too many (ha ?) for him
To have a plot upon ?

Sab. I doe not know 250
The heart of his designes ; but, sure, their face
Lookes farther then the present.

Arr. By the gods,
If I could gesse he had but such a thought,

My sword should cleave him downe from head
to heart,

But I would finde it out : and with my hand 255
I'd hurle his panting braine about the ayre,
In mites, as small as atomi, to'undoe
The knotted bed —

Sab. You are observ'd, Arruntius.

Arr. Death ! I dare tell him so ; and all his
spies : *He turnes to Sejanus clyents.*

You, sir, I would, doe you looke ? and you.

Sab. Forbeare. 260
[*Exeunt.*]

[SCENE II. (*The former Scene continued.*)]

A Gallery discovered opening into the State Room.

[*Enter*] *Satrius*, [*with*] *Eudemus*, [*later*] *Sejanus*.

Satrius. Heere, he will instant be ; Let's walke
a turne.

Yo'are in a muse, Eudemus ?

Eudemus. Not I, sir.

I wonder he should marke me out so ! well,
Jove, and Apollo forme it for the best. [*Aside.*]

Sat. Your fortune's made unto you now,
Eudemus,

If you can but lay hold upon the meanes ;

257 *atomi.* F2 — C, *Atomes.*

259 *dare.* F2, F3, A, dare to.

He . . . clyents. F, by ll. 259-60.

Doe but observe his humour, and — beleeve it —
He's the noblest Romane, where he takes —

[*Enter Sejanus.*]

Here comes his lordship.

Sejanus. Now, good Satrius.

Sat. This is the gentleman, my lord.

Sej. Is this ? 10

Give me your hand, we must be more acquainted.

Report, sir, hath spoke out your art, and learning :

And I am glad I have so needfull cause,

(How ever in it selfe painefull, and hard)

To make me knowne to so great vertue. Looke, 15

Who's that ? Satrius — [*Exit Satrius.*] I have a
griefe, sir,

That will desire your helpe. Your name's Eudemus ?

Eud. Yes.

Sej. Sir ?

Eud. It is, my lord.

Sej. I heare, you are

Physitian to Livia, the princesse ?

Eud. I minister unto her, my good lord. 20

Sej. You minister to a royall lady, then.

Eud. She is, my lord, and fayre.

Sej. That's understood

Of all their sexe, who are, or would be so ;
And those, that would be, physicke soone can
make 'hem :

For those that are, their beauties feare no collours. 25

Eud. Your lordship is conceited.

Sej. Sir, you know it.

And can (if need be) read a learned lecture,
On this, and other secrets. Pray you tell me,
What more of ladies, besides Livia,
Have you your patients ?

Eud. Many, my good lord. 30

The great Augusta, Urgulania,
Mutilia Prisca, and Plancina, divers —

Sej. And, all these tell you the particulars
Of every severall grieve ? how first it grew,
And then encreas'd, what action caused that ; 35
What passion that : and answer to each point
That you will put 'hem.

Eud. Else, my lord, we know not
How to prescribe the remedies.

Sej. Goe to,
Yo'are a subtill nation, you Physitians !
And growne the onely cabinets, in court, 40
To ladies privacies. Faith which of these
Is the most pleasant lady, in her physicke ?
Come, you are modest now.

Eud. 'Tis fit, my lord.

Sej. Why, sir, I doe not aske you of their
urines,

Whose smel's most violet ? or whose seige is
best ?

45

Or who makes hardest faces on her stoole ?
Which lady sleepes with her owne face, a nights ?
Which puts her teeth off, with her clothes, in
court ?

Or, which her hayre ? which her complexion ?
And, in which boxe she puts it ? These were
questions

50

That might, perhaps, have put your gravity
To some defence of blush. But, I enquir'd,
Which was the wittiest ? meriest ? wantonnest ?
Harmelesse intergatories, but conceipts.

Me thinks, Augusta should be most perverse,
And froward in her fit ?

55

Eud. She's so, my lord.

Sej. I knew it. And Mutilia the most jocund ?

Eud. 'Tis very true, my lord.

Sej. And why would you
Conceale this from me, now ? Come, what's
Livia ?

I know, she's quick, and quaintly spirited,
And will have strange thoughts, when she's at
leasure ;

60

She tells 'hem all to you ?

Eud. My noblest lord,

He breaths not in the empire, or on earth,

45 *smel's.* Q-A, smels. 46 *her.* Q, the. 63 *on.* Q, the.

Whom I would be ambitious to serve
 (In any act, that may preserve mine honour) 65
 Before your lordship.

Sej. Sir, you can loose no honor,
 By trusting ought to me. The coursest act
 Done to my service, I can so requite,
 As all the world shall stile it honorable :
 “ Your idle, vertuous definitions 70
 “ Keepe honor poore, and are as scorn’d, as vaine :
 “ Those deeds breathe honor, that do sucke in
 gaine.

Eud. But, good my lord, if I should thus betray
 The counsels of my patient, and a ladies
 Of her high place, and worth ; what might your
 lordship, 75
 (Who presently are to trust me with your owne)
 Judge of my faith ?

Sej. Only the best, I sweare.
 Say now, that I should utter you my grieft ;
 And with it, the true cause ; that it were love ;
 And love to Livia : you should tell her this ? 80
 Should she suspect your faith ? I would you
 could

Tell me as much, from her ; see, if my braine
 Could be turn’d jealous.

Eud. Happily, my lord,
 I could, in time, tell you as much, and more ;

So I might safely promise but the first, 85
To her, from you.

Sej. As safely, my Eudemus,
(I now dare call thee so) as I have put
The secret into thee.

Eud. My lord —

Sej. Protest not.
Thy lookes are vowes to me, use onely speed,
And but affect her with Sejanus love, 90
Thou art a man, made, to make Consuls. Goe.

Eud. My lord, Ile promise you a private
meeting
This day, together.

Sej. Canst thou ?

Eud. Yes.

Sej. The place ?

Eud. My gardens, whither I shall fetch your
lordship.

Sej. Let me adore my Æsculapius. 95
Why, this indeed is physick ! and out-speakes
The knowledge of cheape drugs, or any use
Can be made out of it ! more comforting
Then all your opiates, julebes, apozemes,
Magistrall syrripes, or — Be gone, my friend, 100
Not barely stiled, but created so ;
Expect things, greater then thy largest hopes,
To overtake thee : Fortune, shall be taught
To know how ill she hath deserv'd thus long,

To come behinde thy wishes. Goe, and speed. 105

[*Exit Eudemus.*]

“Ambition makes more trusty slaves, then need,
These fellowes, by the favour of their arte,
Have, still, the meanes to tempt, oft-times, the
power.

If Livia will be now corrupted, then
Thou hast the way, Sejanus, to worke out 110
His secrets, who (thou knowest) endures thee
not,

Her husband Drusus: and to worke against
them.

Prosper it, Pallas, thou, that betterst wit;
For Venus hath the smallest share in it.

[*Enter Tiberius and Drusus, attended.*]

Tiberius, Sejanus, Drusus.

Tiberius. Wee not endure these flatteries, let
him stand; *One kneeles to him.* 115

Our empire, ensignes, axes, roddes, and state
Take not away our humane nature from us:
Looke up, on us, and fall before the gods.

Sej. How like a god, speakes Caesar!

Arruntius. There, observe!

He can indure that second, that's no flattery. 120
O, what is it, proud slime will not beleeve
Of his owne worth, to heare it equall prais'd
Thus with the gods?

111 *knowest.* F₂, etc., *knowst*

One . . . him. F, by ll. 115-16.

Cordus. He did not heare it, sir.

Arr. He did not? Tut, he must not, we
thinke meanely.

'Tis your most courtly, knowne confederacy, 125
To have your private parasite redeeme
What he, in publique subtilty, will lose
To making him a name.

Haterius. Right mighty lord —
[*Gives him letters.*]

Tib. We must make up our eares, 'gainst
these assaults

Of charming tongues; we pray you use, no more 130
These contumelies to us: stile not us
Or lord, or mighty, who professe our selfe
The servant of the Senate, and are proud
T' enjoy them our good, just, and favouring lords.

Cor. Rarely dissembled.

Arr. Prince-like, to the life. 135

" *Sabinus.* When power, that may command,
so much descends,

" Their bondage, whom it stoupes to, it intends.

Tib. Whence are these letters?

Hat. From the Senate.

Tib. So. [*Latiaris gives him letters.*]

Whence these?

Latiaris. From thence too.

127 *publique.* G, comma after this. *subtilty.* W, C, G, subtilly.

128 *To.* C, In.

Tib. Are they sitting, now?

Lat. They stay thy answer, Caesar.

Silius. If this man 140

Had but a minde allied unto his words,

How blest a fate were it to us, and Rome?

We could not thinke that state, for which to
change,

Although the ayme were our old liberty:

The ghosts of those that fell for that, would
grieve 145

Their bodies liv'd not, now, againe to serve.

"Men are deceiv'd, who thinke there can be
thrall

"Beneath a vertuous prince. Wish'd liberty

"Ne're lovelier lookes, then under such a crowne.

But, when his grace is meerely but lip-good, 150

And, that no longer, then he aires himselfe

Abroad in publique, there, to seeme to shun

The strokes, and stripes of flatterers, which
within

Are lechery unto him, and so feed

His brutish sense with their afflicting sound, 155

As (dead to vertue) he permits himselfe

Be carried like a pitcher, by the eares,

To every act of vice: this is a case

Deserves our feare, and doth presage the nigh,

And close approach of bloud and tyranny. 160

160 *bloud and.* C, bloody.

“ Flattery is midwife unto princes rage :

“ And nothing sooner, doth helpe foorth a tyranne,

“ Then that, and whisperers grace, who have the time,

“ The place, the power, to make all men offenders.

Arr. He should be told this ; and be bid dissemble

165

With fooles, and blinde men : We that know the evill,

Should hunt the Palace-rattes, or give them bane ;
Fright hence these worse then ravens, that devoure

The quicke, where they but prey upon the dead :
He shall be told it.

Sab.

Stay, Arruntius,

170

We must abide our oportunity :

And practise what is fit, as what is needfull.

“ It is not safe t'enforce a soveraigne's eare :

“ Princes heare well, if they at all will heare.

Arr. Ha ? Say you so ? well. In the meane time, Jove,

175

(Say not, but I doe call upon thee now.)

Of all wilde beasts, preserve me from a tyranne ;

And of all tame, a flatterer.

Sil.

'Tis well pray'd.

Tib. [*having read the letters*]. Returne the
lords this voyce, we are their creature :
And it is fit, a good, and honest prince, 180
Whom they, out of their bounty, have instructed
With so dilate, and absolute a power,
Should owe the office of it, to their service ;
And good of all, and every citizen.
Nor shall it e're repent us, to have wish'd 185
The Senate just, and fav'ring lords unto us,
" Since their free loves doe yeeld no lesse defence
" T'a princes state, then his owne innocence.
Say then, there can be nothing in their thought
Shall want to please us, that hath pleased them ; 190
Our suffrage rather shall prevent, then stay
Behind their wills : 'tis empire, to obey
Where such, so great, so grave, so good deter-
mine.
Yet, for the sute of Spaine, t'erect a temple
In honour of our mother, and our selfe, 195
We must (with pardon of the Senate) not
Assent thereto. Their lordships may object
Our not denying the same late request
Unto the Asian cities : We desire
That our defence, for suffering that, be knowne 200
In these brieft reasons, with our after purpose.
Since deified Augustus hindred not
A temple to be built, at Pergamum,

In honour of himselfe, and sacred Rome,
We, that have all his deedes, and wordes ob-
serv'd 205

Ever, in place of lawes, the rather follow'd
That pleasing precedent, because, with ours,
The Senates reverence also, there, was joyn'd.
But, as, t'have once receiv'd it, may deserve
The gaine of pardon, so, to be ador'd 210
With the continew'd stile, and note of gods,
Through all the provinces, were wild ambition,
And no lesse pride : Yea, ev'n Augustus name
Would early vanish, should it be prophan'd
With such promiscuous flatteries. For our part, 215
We here protest it, and are covetous
Posteritie should know it, we are mortall ;
And can but deedes of men : 'twere glory 'inough,
Could we be truely a prince. And, they shall
adde

Abounding grace, unto our memorie, 220
That shall report us worthy our fore-fathers,
Carefull of your affaires, constant in dangers,
And not afraid of any private frowne
For publike good. These things shall be to us
Temples, and statues, reared in your mindes, 225
The fairest, and most during imag'rie :
For those of stone, or brasse, if they become
Odious in judgement of posteritie,

Are more contemn'd, as dying sepulchres,
 Then tane for living monuments. We then 230
 Make here our suite, alike to gods, and men,
 The one, untill the period of our race,
 T'inspire us with a free, and quiet mind,
 Discerning both divine, and humane lawes;
 The other, to vouchsafe us after death, 235
 An honourable mention, and faire praise,
 T'accompanie our actions, and our name :
 The rest of greatnesse princes may command,
 And (therefore) may neglect, only, a long,
 A lasting, high, and happy memorie 240
 They should, without being satisfied, pursue.
 Contempt of fame begets contempt of vertue.

Natta. Rare !

Satrius. Most divine !

Sej. The Oracles are ceas'd,
 That only Caesar, with their tongue, might
 speake.

Arr. Let me be gone, most felt, and open
 this ! 245

Cor. Stay.

Arr. What ? to heare more cunning, and
 fine wordes,
 With their sound flatter'd, ere their sense be
 meant ?

Tib. Their choise of Antium, there to place
 the guift

Vow'd to the goddess, for our mothers health,²⁴⁹
We will the Senate know, we fairely like; *Fortuna eque-*
As also, of their grant to Lepidus, *stris.*
For his repaying the Æmilian place,
And restauration of those monuments:
Their grace too in confining of Silanus,
To th'other Is'le Cithera, at the sute 255
Of his religious sister, much commends
Their policie, so temp'red with their mercy.
But, for the honours, which they have decreed
To our Sejanus, to advance his statue
In Pompei's theatre (whose ruining fire 260
His vigilance, and labour kept restrain'd
In that one losse) they have, therein, out-gone
Their owne great wisdomes, by their skilfull
choise,
And placing of their bounties, on a man,
Whose merit more adornes the dignitie, 265
Then that can him: and gives a benefit,
In taking, greater, then it can receive.
Blush not, Sejanus, thou great aide of Rome,
Associate of our labours, our chiefe helper,
Let us not force thy simple modestie 270
With offering at thy praise, for more we cannot,
Since there's no voice can take it. No man, here,
Receive our speeches, as hyperbole's;
For we are far from flatt'ring our friend,

²⁵² place. C, palace.²⁵⁵ at. F2, F3, A, and.

(Let envy know) as from the need to flatter. 275
 Nor let them aske the causes of our praise;
 Princes have still their grounds rear'd with them-
 selves,

Above the poore low flats of common men,
 And, who will search the reasons of their acts,
 Must stand on equall bases. Lead, away. 280
 Our loves unto the Senate.

[*Exeunt Tiberius, Sejanus, Natta, Haterius, Latiaris,
 Officers, &c.*]

Arr. Caesar.

Sab. Peace.

Cor. Great Pompei's theatre was never ruin'd
 Till now, that proud Sejanus hath a statue
 Rear'd on his ashes.

Arr. Place the shame of souldiers,
 Above the best of generalls? cracke the world! 285
 And bruise the name of Romanes into dust,
 Ere we behold it!

Sil. Checke your passion;
 Lord Drusus tarries.

Drusus. Is my father mad?
 Wearie of life, and rule, lords? thus to heave
 An idoll up with praise! make him his mate! 290
 His rivall in the empire!

Arr. O, good prince!

Dru. Allow him statues? titles? honours?
 such,
 As he himselfe refuseth?

Arr. Brave, brave Drusus!

Dru. The first ascents to soveraigntie are
hard[;]

But, entred once, there never wants or meanes, 295
Or ministers, to helpe th'aspirer on.

Arr. True, gallant Drusus.

Dru. We must shortly pray
To Modestie, that he will rest contented —

Arr. I, where he is, and not write emp'rour.

[*Re-enter*] *Sejanus*, [*Satrius*, *Latiaris*, *Clients*, &c.]
Drusus, *Arruntius*, &c. [*on one side.*]

Sej. There is your bill, and yours; Bring you
your man : 300

I have mov'd for you, too, *Latiaris*.

Dru. What ?

Is your vast greatnesse growne so blindly bold,
That you will over us ?

Sej. Why, then give way.

Dru. Give way, Colossus? Doe you lift?
Advance you ?

Take that. *Drusus strikes him.*

Arr. Good ! brave ! excellent brave prince ! 305

Dru. Nay, come, approch. [*Draws.*] What ?
stand you off ? at gaze ?

It lookes too full of death, for thy cold spirits.

Re-enter. The marginal direction in the Folio is *He enters, followed with clients.*

307 *spirits. Q, spirit.*

Avoid mine eye, dull camell, or my sword
 Shall make thy brav'rie fitter for a grave,
 Then for a triumph. I'll advance a statue, 310
 O'your owne bulke; but't shall be on the crosse:
 Where I will naile your pride, at breadth, and
 length,
 And cracke those sinnewes, which are yet but
 stretch'd
 With your swolne fortunes rage.

Arr. A noble prince!

All. A Castor, a Castor, a Castor, a Castor! 315
 [*Exeunt all but*] *Sejanus.*

Sej. He that, with such wrong mov'd, can
 beare it through

With patience, and an even mind, knowes how
 To turne it backe. Wrath, cover'd, carries fate:
 Revenge is lost, if I professe my hate.

What was my practice late, I'll now pursue 320
 As my fell justice. This hath stil'd it new.

[*Exit.*]

Chorus — Of Musicians.

309 *brav'rie.* G, bravery.

315 *Castor.* Q has &c. in place of fourth Castor.

321 *new.* "After this speech the Quarto has *Mu. Chorus*, which is repeated at the end of every succeeding act. As it seems to mean, in plain English, merely the music between the acts, I have not thought it worth preserving." Gifford.

ACT II.

[SCENE I. *The Garden of Eudemus.*

Enter] *Sejanus, Livia, Eudemus.*

Sejanus. Physitian, thou art worthy of a province,

For the great favours done unto our loves ;
And, but that greatest Livia beares a part
In the requitall of thy services,
I should alone, despaire of ought, like meanes, 5
To give them worthy satisfaction.

Livia. Eudemus, (I will see it) shall receive
A fit, and full reward, for his large merit.
But for this potion, we intend to Drusus,
(No more our husband, now) whom shall we
choose 10

As the most apt, and abled instrument,
To minister it to him ?

Eudemus. I say, Lygdus.

Sej. Lygdus ? what's he ?

Liv. An Eunuch Drusus loves.

Eud. I, and his cup-bearer.

Sej. Name not a second.

If Drusus love him, and he have that place, 15
We cannot thinke a fitter.

11 *abled.* F2, F3, ablest ; A, and blest. 15 *love.* C, loves.

Eud. True, my lord,

For free accesse, and trust, are two maine aides.

Sej. Skilfull physitian !

Liv. But he must be wrought

To th'undertaking, with some labour'd arte.

Sej. Is he ambitious ?

Liv. No.

Sej. Or covetous ? 20

Liv. Neither.

Eud. Yet, gold is a good generall charme.

Sej. What is he then ?

Liv. Faith, only wanton, light.

Sej. How ! is he young ? and faire ?

Eud. A delicate youth.

Sej. Send him to me, I'll worke him. Royall
ladie,

Though I have lov'd you long, and with that
height 25

Of zeale, and dutie, (like the fire, which more
It mounts, it trembles) thinking nought could
adde

Unto the fervour, which your eye had kindled ;
Yet, now I see your wisdom, judgement,
strength,

Quicknesse, and will, to apprehend the meanes 30
To your owne good, and greatnesse, I protest
My selfe through rarefied, and turn'd all flame
In your affection : Such a spirit as yours,

Was not created for the idle second
 To a poore flash, as Drusus ; but to shine 35
 Bright, as the Moone, among the lesser lights,
 And share the sov'raintie of all the world.
 Then Livia triumphs in her proper spheare,
 When shee, and her Sejanus shall divide
 The name of Caesar ; and Augusta's starre 40
 Be dimm'd with glorie of a brighter beame :
 When Agrippina's fires are quite extinct,
 And the scarce-seene Tiberius borrowes all
 His little light from us, whose folded armes
 Shall make one perfect orbe. [*Knocking within.*]

Who's that? Eudemus, 45

Looke, 'tis not Drusus? [*Exit Eudemus.*] Ladie,
 doe not feare.

Liv. Not I, my lord. My feare, and love of
 him

Left me at once.

Sej. Illustrous ladie! stay —

Eud. [*within*]. I'le tell his lordship.

[*Re-enter Eudemus.*]

Sej. Who is't, Eudemus?

Eud. One of your lordships servants, brings
 you word 50

The Emp'rour hath sent for you.

46 'tis not Drusus? *Ladie.* G, 'Tis not Drusus, lady, etc.

48 *Illustrous.* F3, etc., *Illustrious.*

49 *Who is't.* A, Who's that; W, C, G, Who is it.

50 *brings.* A, bring.

Sej. O ! where is he?
With your faire leave, dear Princesse. I'le but
aske

A question, and returne. *He goes out.*

Eud. Fortunate Princesse !
How are you blest in the fruition
Of this unequald man, this soule of Rome, 55
The empires life, and voice of Caesars world !

Liv. So blessed, my Eudemus, as to know
The blisse I have, with what I ought to owe
The meanes that wrought it. How do'I looke
to day ?

Eud. Excellent cleere, beleeve it. This same
fucus 60
Was well laid on.

Liv. Me thinkes, 'tis here not white.

Eud. Lend me your scarlet, lady. 'Tis the
sunne

Hath giv'n some little taint unto the ceruse,
You should have us'd of the white oyle I gave
you.

Sejanus, for your love ! his very name 65
Commandeth above Cupid, or his shafts —

[*Paints her cheeks.*]

(*Liv.* Nay, now yo'have made it worse.

Eud. I'le helpe it straight.)
And, but pronounc'd, is a sufficient charme

He . . . out. F, by l. 52. 55 *this soule.* W, C, G, the soul.
63 *unto.* A, to.

Against all rumour ; and of absolute power
To satisfie for any ladies honour. 70

(*Liv.* What doe you now, Eudemus ?

Eud. Make a light fucus,
To touch you ore withall.) Honor'd Sejanus !
What act (though ne're so strange, and insolent)
But that addition will at least beare out,
If't doe not expiate ?

Liv. Here, good physitian. 75

Eud. I like this studie to preserve the love
Of such a man, that comes not every houre
To greet the world. ('Tis now well, ladie, you
should
Use of the dentifrice, I prescrib'd you, too,
To cleere your teeth, and the prepar'd pomatum, 80
To smoothe the skin :) A lady cannot be
Too curious of her forme, that still would hold
The heart of such a person, made her captive,
As you have his : who, to endeare him more
In your cleere eye, hath put away his wife, 85
The trouble of his bed, and your delights,
Faire Apicata, and made spacious roome
To your new pleasures.

Liv. Have not we return'd
That, with our hate of Drusus, and discoverie
Of all his counsels ?

Eud. Yes, and wisely, lady, 90

84 *his.* C, this.

89 *of.* W, C, G, to.

The ages that succeed, and stand far off
To gaze at your high prudence, shall admire
And reckon it an act, without your sexe :
It hath that rare apparence. Some will thinke
Your fortune could not yeeld a deeper sound, 95
Then mixt with Drusus; But, when they shall
 heare

That, and the thunder of Sejanus meet,
Sejanus, whose high name doth strike the starres,
And rings about the concave, great Sejanus,
Whose glories, stile, and titles are himselfe, 100
The often iterating of Sejanus :
They then will lose their thoughts, and be
 asham'd

To take acquaintance of them.

[*Re-enter Sejanus.*]

Sej.

I must make

A rude departure, lady. Caesar sends
With all his haste both of command, and prayer. 105
Be resolute in our plot; you have my soule,
As certayne yours, as it is my bodies.
And, wise physitian, so prepare the poyson
As you may lay the subtile operation
Upon some naturall disease of his. 110
Your eunuch send to me. I kisse your hands,
Glorie of ladies, and commend my love
To your best faith, and memorie.

Liv.

My lord,

I shall but change your wordes. Farewell. Yet,
this

Remember for your heed, he loves you not; 115
You know, what I have told you: His designes
Are full of grudge, and danger: we must use
More then a common speed.

Sej. Excellent lady,
How you doe fire my bloud!

Liv. Well, you must goe?
The thoughts be best, are least set forth to shew. 120
[Exit Sejanus.]

Eud. When will you take some physick, lady?

Liv. When
I shall, Eudemus: But let Drusus drug
Be first prepar'd.

Eud. Were Lygdus made, that's done;
I have it readie. And to morrow-morning,
I'll send you a perfume, first to resolve, 125
And procure sweat, and then prepare a bath
To clense, and cleere the cutis; against when,
I'll have an excellent new fucus made,
Resistive 'gainst the sunne, the raine, or wind,
Which you shall lay on with a breath, or oyle, 130
As you best like, and last some fourteene houres.
This change came timely, lady, for your health;

121 lady? *When.* F3, A place *When* at beginning of l. 122.

126 and then. F2, F3, A omit and.

129 'gainst. F3, A, against.

And the restoring your complexion,
Which Drusus choller had almost burnt up :
Wherein your fortune hath prescrib'd you better 135
Then arte could doe.

Liv. Thankes, good physitian,
I'le use my fortune (you shall see) with rever-
ence.

Is my coach ready ?

Eud. It attends your highnesse.
[*Exeunt.*]

[SCENE II. *An Apartment in the Palace.*

Enter] *Sejanus.*

Sejanus. If this be not revenge, when I have
done

And made it perfect, let Ægyptian slaves,
Parthians, and bare-foot Hebrewes brand my face,
And print my body full of injuries.

Thou lost thy selfe, childe Drusus, when thou
thought'st

Thou could'st out-skip my vengeance : or out-
stand

The power I had to crush thee into ayre.
Thy follyes now shall taste what kinde of man
They have provok'd, and this thy fathers house
Cracke in the flame of my incensed rage,
Whose fury shall admit no shame, or meane.
Adultery ? it is the lightest ill,

I will commit. A race of wicked acts
Shall flow out of my anger, and o're-spread
The worlds wide face, which no posterity 15
Shall e're approve, nor yet keepe silent: Things,
That for their cunning, close, and cruell marke,
Thy father would wish his; and shall (perhaps)
Carry the empty name, but we the prize.
On then, my soule, and start not in thy course; 20
Though heav'n drop sulphure, and hell belch
out fire,

Laugh at the idle terrors: Tell proud Jove,
Betweene his power, and thine, there is no oddes.
'Twas onely feare, first, in the world made gods.

[*Enter*] *Tiberius*, [*attended, to*] *Sejanus*.

Tiberius. Is yet *Sejanus* come?

Sej. He's here, dread *Caesar*. 25

Tib. Let all depart that chamber, and the
next: [*Exeunt Attendants.*]

Sit downe, my comfort. When the master-prince
Of all the world, *Sejanus*, saith, he feares;
Is it not fatall?

Sej. Yes, to those are fear'd.

Tib. And not to him?

Sej. Not, if he wisely turne 30
That part of fate he holdeth, first on them.

Tib. That nature, bloud, and lawes of kinde
forbid.

Sej. Doe policie, and state forbid it?

Tib. No.

Sej. The rest of poore respects, then, let goe
by :

State is inough to make th'act just, them guilty. 35

Tib. Long hate pursues such acts.

Sej. Whom hatred frights,

Let him not dreame on sov'raignty.

Tib. Are rites

Of faith, love, piety, to be trod downe ?

Forgotten ? and made vaine ?

Sej. All for a crowne.

The prince, who shames a tyrannes name to
beare, 40

Shall never dare doe any thing, but feare ;

All the command of scepters quite doth perish

If it beginne religious thoughts to cherish :

Whole Empires fall, swaid by those nice re-
spects.

It is the licence of darke deeds protects 45

Ev'n states most hated : when no lawes resist

The sword, but that it acteth what it list.

Tib. Yet so, we may doe all things cruelly,
Not safely :

Sej. Yes, and doe them thoroughly.

Tib. Knowes yet, Sejanus, whom we point at ?

Sej. I, 50

37 on. F2, etc., of.

42 command. A, commands.

49 thoroughly. Q-A, throughly.

Or else my thought, my sense, or both doe erre;
'Tis Agrippina?

Tib. She; and her proud race.

Sej. Proud? dangerous, Caesar. For in them
apace

The fathers spirit shoots up. Germanicus
Lives in their lookes, their gate, their forme,
t'upbraide us

55

With his close death, if not revenge the same.

Tib. The act's not knowne.

Sej. Not prov'd. But whispring fame
Knowledge, and prooffe doth to the jealous give,
Who, then to faile, would their owne thought
beleeve.

It is not safe, the children draw long breath, 60
That are provoked by a parents death.

Tib. It is as dangerous, to make them hence,
If nothing but their birth be their offence.

Sej. Stay, till they strike at Caesar: then their
crime

Will be enough, but late, and out of time 65
For him to punish.

Tib. Doe they purpose it?

Sej. You know, sir, thunder speakes not till
it hit.

Be not secure: none swiftlier are opprest,
Then they, whom confidence betrayes to rest,

Let not your daring make your danger such: 70
All power's to be fear'd, where 'tis too much.
The youth's are (of themselves) hote, violent,
Full of great thought; and that male-spirited
dame,
Their mother, slackes no meanes to put them
on,
By large allowance, popular presentings, 75
Increase of traine, and state, suing for titles,
Hath them commended with like praiers, like
vowes,
To the same Gods, with Caesar: daies and nights
Shee spends in banquets, and ambitious feasts
For the Nobilitie; where Caius Silius, 80
Titius Sabinus, olde Arruntius,
Asinius Gallus, Furnius, Regulus,
And others, of that discontented list,
Are the prime guests. There, and to these, she
tels
Whose niece she was, whose daughter, and
whose wife, 85
And then must they compare her with Augusta,
I, and preferre her too, commend her forme,
Extoll her fruitfulnessse; at which a showre
Fals for the memorie of Germanicus,
Which they blow over straight, with windie
praise, 90
And puffing hopes of her aspiring sonnes:

Who, with these houely ticklings, grow so
pleas'd,

And wantonly conceited of themselves,
As now, they sticke not to beleewe they're such,
As these doe give 'hem out: and would be
thought

95

(More then competitors) immediate heires.

Whilest to their thirst of rule they winne the
rout

(That's still the friend of noveltie) with hope
Of future freedome, which on everie change,
That greedily, though emptily, expects.

100

Caesar, 'tis age in all things breeds neglects,
And princes that will keepe olde dignitie,
Must not admit too youthfull heires stand by;
Not their owne issue: but so darkely set
As shadowes are in picture, to give height,
And lustre to themselves.

105

Tib.

We will command

Their ranke thoughts downe, and with a stricter
hand

Then we have yet put forth, their traines must
bate,

Their titles, feasts and factions.

Sej.

Or your state.

But how sir, will you worke?

Tib.

Confine 'hem,

Sej.

No. 110

They are too great, and that too faint a blow,
 To give them now: it would have serv'd at first,
 When, with the weakest touch, their knot had
 burst.

But, now, your care must be, not to detect
 The smallest cord, or line of your suspect, 115
 For such, who know the weight of princes feare,
 Will, when they find themselves discover'd,
 reare

Their forces, like seene snakes, that else would
 lye

Rould in their circles, close: Nought is more
 high,

Daring, or desperate, then offenders found; 120

Where guilt is, rage, and courage doth abound.

The course must be, to let 'hem still swell up,
 Riot, and surfet on blind fortunes cup;

Give 'hem more place, more dignities, more stile,

Call 'hem to court, to senate: in the while, 125

Take from their strength some one or twaine,
 or more

Of the maine Fautors; (It will fright the store)

And, by some by-occasion. Thus, with slight

You shall disarme first, and they (in night

Of their ambition) not perceive the traine, 130

Till, in the ingine, they are caught, and slaine.

116 *princes*. G, prince's. 121 *doth*. Q, W, C, G, both.

129 *disarme*. Q, W, C, G, disarme them.

Tib. We would not kill, if we knew how to
save;

Yet, then a throne, 'tis cheaper give a grave.
Is there no way to bind them by deserts?

Sej. Sir, wolves do change their haire, but not
their harts. 135

While thus your thought unto a meane is tied,
You neither dare inough, nor doe provide.
All modestie is fond; and chiefly where
The subject is no lesse compeld to beare,
Then praise his sov'raignes acts.

Tib. We can no longer 140

Keepe on our masque to thee, our deare Sejanus;
Thy thoughts are ours, in all, and we but proov'd
Their voice, in our designs, which by assent-
ing

Hath more confirm'd us, then if heartning Jove
Had, from his hundred statues, bid us strike, 145
And at the stroke clickt all his marble thumb's.
But, who shall first be strooke?

Sej. First, Caius Silius;

He is the most of marke, and most of danger:
In power, and reputation equall strong,
Having commanded an imperiall armie 150
Seven yeeres together, vanquish'd Sacrovir
In Germanie, and thence obtain'd to weare
The ornaments triumphall. His steep fall,
By how much it doth give the weightier crack,

Will send more wounding terrour to the rest, 155
 Command them stand aloofe, and give more way
 To our surprising of the principall.

Tib. But what, Sabinus?

Sej. Let him grow awhile,
 His fate is not yet ripe : we must not plucke
 At all together, lest wee catch our selves. 160
 And ther's Arruntius too, he only talkes.
 But Sosia, Silius wife, would be wound in
 Now, for she hath a furie in her brest
 More, then hell ever knew ; and would be sent
 Thither in time. Then, is there one Cremutius 165
 Cordus, a writing fellow, they have got
 To gather notes of the precedent times,
 And make them into Annal's ; a most tart
 And bitter spirit (I heare) who, under colour
 Of praysing those, doth taxe the present state, 170
 Censures the men, the actions, leaves no tricke,
 No practice un-examin'd, paralels
 The times, the governments, a profest champion,
 For the old libertie —

Tib. A perishing wretch.
 As if there were that chaos bred in things, 175
 That lawes, and libertie would not rather choose
 To be quite broken, and tane hence by us,
 Then have the staine to be preserv'd by such.
 Have we the meanes, to make these guiltie, first?

Sej. Trust that to me: let Caesar, by his
power,

180

But cause a formall meeting of the Senate,
I will have matter, and accusers readie.

Tib. But how? let us consult.

Sej. Wee shall mispend

The time of action. Counsels are unfit

In businesse, where all rest is more pernicious

185

Then rashnesse can be. Acts of this close kind
Thrive more by execution, then advice.

There is no lingring in that worke begun,
Which cannot praised be, untill through done.

Tib. Our edict shall, forthwith, command a
court.

190

While I can live, I will prevent earths furie :

Ἐμοῦ θανάτῳ γαῖα μυχθήτω πυρί. [Exit.]

[Enter Julius] *Posthumus* [to] *Sejanus*.

Posthumus. My lord *Sejanus*—

Sej. Julius *Posthumus*,

Come with my wish! what newes from *Agrip-
pina's*?

Pos. Faith none. They all locke up them-
selves a'late;

195

Or talke in character: I have not seene
A companie so chang'd. Except they had
Intelligence by augurie' of our practice.

Sej. When were you there?

Pos. Last night.

Sej. And what ghests found you ?

Pos. Sabinus, Silius, (the olde list,) Arruntius, 200
Furnius, and Gallus.

Sej. Would not these talke?

Pos. Little.

And yet we offered choice of argument.

Satrius was with me.

Sej. Well: 'tis guilt inough
Their often meeting. You forgot t'extoll
The hospitable ladie ?

Pos. No, that tricke 205
Was well put home, and had succeeded too,
But that Sabinus cought a caution out ;
For she began to swell :

Sej. And may she burst.
Julius, I would have you goe instantly,
Unto the palace of the great Augusta, 210
And, (by your kindest friend,) get swift
 accesse ;

*Mutilia
Prisca.*

Acquaint her, with these meetings: Tell the
 words

You brought me, (th'other day) of Silius,
Adde somewhat to 'hem. Make her understand
The danger of Sabinus, and the times, 215
Out of his closenesse. Give Arruntius words
Of malice against Caesar; so, to Gallus:
But (above all) to Agrippina. Say,
(As you may truely) that her infinite pride,

Propt with the hopes of her too fruitfull wombe, ²²⁰
With popular studies gapes for soveraigntie ;
And threatens Caesar. Pray Augusta then,
That for her owne, great Caesars, and the pub-
lique safetie, she be pleas'd to urge these dangers.
Cæsar is too secure (he must be told, ²²⁵
And best hee'll take it from a mothers tongue.)
Alas ! what is't for us to sound, t'explore,
To watch, oppose, plot, practise, or prevent,
If he, for whom it is so strongly labour'd,
Shall, out of greatnesse, and free spirit, be ²³⁰
Supinely negligent? Our citi's now
Devided as in time o' th' civill warre,
And men forbear not to declare themselves
Of Agrippina's partie. Every day,
The faction multiplies ; and will doe more ²³⁵
If not resisted : you can best inlarge it
As you find audience. Noble Posthumus,
Commend me to your Prisca : and pray her,
Shee will sollicite this great businesse
To earnest, and most present execution, ²⁴⁰
With all her utmost credit with Augusta.

Pos. I shall not faile in my instructions.

[*Exit.*]

Sej. This second (from his mother) will well
urge

223-224 *pub-lique*. A, W, C do not divide, but place whole word at end of l. 223.

Our late designe, and spur on Caesars rage :
Which else might grow remisse. The way, to
put

245

A prince in bloud, is to present the shapes
Of dangers, greater then they are (like late,
Or early shadowes) and, sometimes, to faine
Where there are none, onely, to make him feare;
His feare will make him cruell: And once en-
tred,

250

He doth not easily learne to stop, or spare
Where he may doubt. This have I made my
rule,

To thrust Tiberius into tyrannie,
And make him toile, to turne aside those blockes,
Which I alone, could not remoove with safetie. 255
Drusus once gone, Germanicus three sonnes
Would clog my way; whose guardes have too
much faith

To be corrupted : and their mother knowne
Of too-too unreprouv'd a chastitie,
To be attempted, as light Livia was.

Worke then, my art, on Caesar's feares, as they
On those they feare, till all my [l]etts be clear'd:
And he in ruines of his house, and hate
Of all his subjects, bury his owne state:
When, with my peace, and safty, I will rise, 265
By making him the publike sacrifice. [Exit.]

[SCENE III. *A Room in Agrippina's House.*

Enter] *Satrius*, [*and*] *Natta*.

Satrius. They' are growne exceeding circum-
spect, and wary.

Natta. They have us in the wind: And yet,
Arruntius

Cannot contayn himselfe.

Sat. Tut, hee's not yet
Look'd after, there are others more desir'd,
That are more silent.

Nat. Here he comes. Away. 5
[*Exeunt.*]

[*Enter*] *Sabinus*, *Arruntius*, [*and*] *Cordus*.

Sabinus. How is it, that these beagles haunt
the house
Of Agrippina?

Arruntius. O, they hunt, they hunt.
There is some game here lodg'd, which they
must rouse,
To make the great-ones sport.

Cordus. Did you observe
How they inveigh'd 'gainst Caesar?

Arr. I, baytes, baytes, 10
For us to bite at: would I have my flesh
Torne by the publique hooke, these qualified
hang-men
Should be my company.

Cor. Here comes another.

[Domitius Afer passes over the stage.]

Arr. I, there's a man, After the oratour !
One, that hath phrases, figures, and fine flowres, 15
To strew his rethorique with, and doth make haste
To get him note, or name, by any offer
Where bloud, or gaine be objects ; steepes his
wordes,

When he would kill, in artificiall teares :
The Crocodile of Tyber ! him I love, 20
That man is mine. He hath my heart, and voice,
When I would curse, he, he.

Sab. Contemne the slaves,
Their present lives will be their future graves.
[*Exeunt.*]

[SCENE IV. *Another Apartment in the same.*

Enter *Silius, Agrippina, Nero, [and] Sosia.*

Silius. May't please your highnesse not forget your selfe,
I dare not, with my manners, to attempt
Your trouble farder.

Agrippina. Farewell, noble Silius.

Sil. Most royall princesse.

Agr. Sosia stayes with us?

Sil. Shee is your servant, and doth owe your
grace
An honest, but unprofitable love.

Agr. How can that be, when there's no
gaine, but vertuous?

Sil. You take the morall, not the politique sense.
I meant, as shee is bold, and free of speech,
Earnest to utter what her zealous thought 10
Travailes withall, in honour of your house ;
Which act, as it is simply borne in her,
Pertakes of love, and honesty, but may,
By th'over-often, and unseason'd use,
Turne to your losse, and danger : For your state, 15
Is wayted on by envies, as by eyes ;
And every second ghest your tables take,
Is a fee'd spie, t'observe who goes, who comes,
What conference you have, with whom, where,
when,
What the discourse is, what the lookes, the
thoughts 20
Of ev'ry person there, they doe extract,
And make into a substance.

Agr. Heare me, Silius,
Were all Tiberius body stuck with eyes,
And ev'ry wall, and hanging in my house
Transparent, as this lawne I weare, or ayre ; 25
Yea, had Sejanus both his eares as long
As to my in-most closet : I would hate
To whisper any thought, or change an act,
To be made Juno's rivall. Vertues forces
Shew ever noblest in conspicuous courses. 30

Sil. 'Tis great, and bravely spoken, like the spirit

Of Agrippina: yet, your highnesse knowes,
There is nor losse, nor shame in providence:
Few can, what all should doe, beware inough.
You may perceive with what officious face, 35
Satrius, and Natta, Afer, and the rest
Visite your house, of late, t'enquire the secrets;
And with what bold, and priviledg'd arte, they
raile

Against Augusta: yea, and at Tiberius,
Tell tricks of Livia, and Sejanus, all 40
T'excite, and call your indignation on,
That they might heare it at more libertie.

Agr. Yo'are too suspitious, Silius.

Sil. Pray the gods,

I be so Agrippina: But I feare
Some subtile practice. They, that durst to strike 45
At so examp-lesse, and un-blam'd a life,
As, that of the renown'd Germanicus,
Will not sit downe, with that exploit alone:
"He threatens many, that hath injur'd one.

Nero. 'Twere best rip forth their tongues,
seare out their eies, 50

When next they come.

Sosia. A fit reward for spies.

[*Enter*] *Drusus junior*: [*to*] *Agrippina*, *Nero*, *Silius*.

Drusus jun. Heare you the rumour?

Agr. What ?

Dru. jun. Drusus is dying.

Agr. Dying ?

Ner. That's strange !

Agr. Yo' were with him, yesternight.

Dru. jun. One met Eudemus, the Physician,
Sent for, but now : who thinkes he cannot live. 55

Sil. Thinkes ? if't be arriv'd at that, he
knowes,

Or none.

Agr. This's quicke ! what should bee his
disease ?

Sil. Poyson. Poyson —

Agr. How, Silius !

Ner. What's that ?

Sil. Nay, nothing. There was (late) a certaine
blow

Giv'n o'the face.

Ner. I, to Sejanus ?

Sil. True. 60

Dru. jun. And, what of that ?

Sil. I'am glad I gave it not.

Ner. But, there is somewhat else ?

Sil. Yes, private meetings,

With a great ladie, at a physicians,

And, a wife turn'd away —

Ner. Ha !

Sil. Toyes, meere toyes :
 What wisdom's now i'th' streets ? i'th' common
 mouth ? 65

Dru. jun. Feares, whisp'rings, tumults, noyse,
 I know not what :
 They say, the Senate sit.

Sil. I'le thither, straight ;
 And see what's in the forge.

Agr. Good Silius, doe,
 Sosia, and I will in.

Sil. Haste you, my lords,
 To visit the sicke prince : tender your loves, 70
 And sorrowes to the people. This Sejanus
 (Trust my divining soule) hath plots on all :
 No tree, that stops his prospect, but must fall.

[*Exeunt.*]

Chorus — Of Musicians.

67 *sit.* F2, F3, A, sits.

ACT III.

[SCENE I.] *The Senate.*

[*Enter*] *Sejanus, Varro, Latiaris, Cotta, Afer, [Sabinus,]* *Gallus, Lepidus, Arruntius, Præcones, Lictores.*

Sejanus. Tis only you must urge against him,
Varro,

Nor I, nor Caesar may appeare therein,
Except in your defence, who are the Consul:
And, under colour of late en'mitie
Betweene your father, and his, may better doe it, 5
As free from all suspition of a practice.
Here be your notes, what points to touch at;
read:

Bee cunning in them. Afer ha's them too.

Varro. But is he summon'd?

Sej. No. It was debated
By Caesar, and concluded as most fit 10
To take him unprepar'd.

Afer. And prosecute
All under name of treason.

Var. I conceive.

Sabinus. Drusus being dead, Caesar will not
be here.

Gallus. What should the businesse of this
Senate bee?

11 *take him. F, him take.*

Arruntius. That can my subtile whisperers
 tell you : We, 15
 That are the good-dull-noble lookers on,
 Are only call'd to keepe the marble warme.
 What should we doe with those deepe mysteries,
 Proper to these fine heads ? let them alone.
 Our ignorance may, perchance, helpe us be sav'd 20
 From whips, and furies.

Gal. See, see, see, their action !

Arr. I, now their heads doe travaile, now they
 worke ;

Their faces runne like shittles, they are weaving
 Some curious cobweb to catch flies.

Sab. Observe,

They take their places.

Arr. What so low ?

Gal. O yes, 25

They must be seene to flatter Caesars grieve
 Though but in sitting.

Var. Bid us silence.

Præco. Silence.

Var. *Fathers Conscript, may this our present
 meeting*

Turne faire, and fortunate to the Common-wealth.

[*Enter*] *Silius, [to the] Senate.*

See, *Silius* enters. [*Speaks to Lictors.*]

22 *travaile.* F₂, F₃, A, *travell.*

30 *See, Silius enters.* W, C, G assign this to *Sej.*

Silius. Haile grave Fathers.

Lictor. Stand. 30

Silius, forbear thy place.

Senator. How !

Præ. Silius stand forth,

The Consul hath to charge thee.

Lic. Roome for Caesar.

Arr. Is he come too ? nay then expect a
tricke.

Sab. Silius accus'd ? sure he will answere
nobly.

[*Enter*] *Tiberius*, [*to the*] *Senate*.

Tiberius. We stand amazed, Fathers, to be-
hold 35

This generall dejection. Wherefore sit
Romes Consuls thus dissolv'd, as they had lost
All the remembrance both of stile, and place ?

It not becomes. No woes are of fit waight,
To make the honour of the empire stoope : 40

Though I, in my peculiar selfe, may meete
Just reprehension, that so suddenly,
And, in so fresh a griefe, would greet the
Senate,

When private tongues, of kinsmen, and allies,
(Inspir'd with comforts) lothly are indur'd, 45
The face of men not seene, and scarce the day,
To thousands, that communicate our losse.
Nor can I argue these of weaknesse ; since

That, though h'had proper issue of his owne,
 He would no lesse bring up, and foster these, 70
 Then that selfe-bloud; and by that act confirme
 Their worths to him, and to posteritie:
 Drusus tane hence, I turne my prayers to you,
 And, 'fore our countrie, and our gods, beseech
 You take, and rule Augustus nephewes sonnes, 75
 Sprung of the noblest ancestors; and so
 Accomplish both my dutie, and your owne.
 Nero, and Drusus, these shall be to you
 In place of parents, these your fathers, these,
 And not unfitly: For you are so borne, 80
 As all your good, or ill's the common-wealths.
 Receyve them, you strong guardians; and blest
 gods,
 Make all their actions answere to their blouds:
 Let their great titles find increase by them,
 Not they by titles. Set them, as in place, 85
 So in example, above all the Romanes:
 And may they know no rivals, but themselves.
 Let fortune give them nothing; but attend
 Upon their vertue: and that still come forth
 Greater then hope, and better then their fame. 90
 Relieve me, Fathers, with your generall voyce.

*Senators. May all the gods consent to Cae-
 sar's wish,
 And adde to any honours, that may crowne
 The hopefull issue of Germanicus.*

*A forme
 of speak-
 ing they
 h[a]d.*

92 *Senators. Q, F, throughout scene, only Sen.*

Tib. We thanke you, reverend Fathers, in
their right.

95

Arr. [*aside*]. If this were true now ! but the
space, the space

Betweene the brest, and lips — Tiberius heart
Lyes a thought farder, then another mans.

Tib. My comforts are so flowing in my joyes,
As, in them, all my streames of grieve are lost, 100
No lesse then are land-waters in the sea,
Or showres in rivers ; though their cause was
such,

As might have sprinkled ev'n the gods with teares :
Yet since the greater doth embrace the lesse,
We covetously obey.

(*Arr.* Well acted, Caesar.) 105

Tib. And, now I am the happy witsesse made
Of your so much desir'd affections,
To this great issue, I could wish, the fates
Would here set peacefull period to my dayes ;
How ever, to my labours, I intreat 110
(And beg it of this Senate) some fit ease.

(*Arr.* Laugh, Fathers, laugh : Ha' you no
spleenes about you ?)

Tib. The burden is too heavy, I sustayne
On my unwilling shoulders ; and I pray
It may be taken off, and re-confer'd 115
Upon the Consuls, or some other Romane,
More able, and more worthy.

(*Arr.* Laugh on, still.)

Sab. Why, this doth render all the rest suspected!

Gal. It poysons all.

Arr. O, do' you taste it then?

Sab. It takes away my faith to any thing 120
He shall hereafter speake.

Arr. I, to pray that,
Which would be to his head as hot as thunder,
(Gain'st which he weares that charme) *A wreath
of laurell.*
should but the court
Receive him at his word.

Gal. Heare.

Tib. For my selfe,
I know my weakenesse, and so little covet 125
(Like some gone past) the waight that will op-
presse me,

As my ambition is the counter-point.

(*Arr.* Finely maintain'd; good still.)

Sej. But Rome, whose bloud,
Whose nerves, whose life, whose very frame
relyes

On Caesar's strength, no lesse then heav'n on
Atlas, 130

Cannot admit it but with generall ruine.

(*Arr.* Ah! are you there, to bring him of?)

Sej. Let Caesar
No more then urge a point so contrary

To Caesars greatnesse, the griev'd Senates
vowes,

Or Romes necessitie.

(*Gal.* He comes about. 135

Arr. More nimbly then Vertumnus.)

Tib. For the publique,

I may be drawne, to shew, I can neglect
All private aymes; though I affect my rest:

But, if the Senate still command me serve,
I must be glad to practise my obedience. 140

(*Arr.* You must, and will, sir. We doe know
it.)

Sen. *Caesar,*

Live long, and happy, great, and royall Cae- *Another*
sar, *forme.*

The gods preserve thee, and thy modestie,
Thy wisdom, and thy innocence.

(*Arr.* Where is't?

The prayer's made before the subject.)

Sen. *Guard* 145

His meeknesse, Jove, his pietie, his care,
His bountie —

Arr. [*aside*]. And his subtlety, I'll put in:
Yet hee'll keepe that himselfe, without the gods.
All prayer's are vaine for him.

Tib. We will not hold
Your patience, Fathers, with long answer; but 150
Shall still contend to be, what you desire,

And worke to satisfie so great a hope :
 Proceed to your affaires.

Arr. [*aside*]. Now, Silius, guard thee ;
 The curtin's drawing. Afer advanceth.

Præ. Silence.

Afe. Cite Caius Silius.

Præ. Caius Silius.

Sil. Here. 155

Afe. The triumph that thou hadst in Germanie

For thy late victorie on Sacrovir,
 Thou hast enjoy'd so freely, Caius Silius,
 As no man it envy'd thee ; nor would Caesar,
 Or Rome admit, that thou wert then defrauded 160
 Of any honours, thy deserts could clayme,
 In the faire service of the common-wealth :
 But now, if, after all their loves, and graces,
 (Thy actions, and their courses being discover'd)
 It shall appeare to Caesar, and this Senate, 165
 Thou hast defil'd those glories, with thy crimes —

Sil. Crimes ?

Afe. Patience, Silius.

Sil. Tell thy moile of patience,
 I'am a Romane. What are my crimes ? Pro-
 claime them.

Am I too rich ? too honest for the times ?
 Have I or treasure, jewels, land, or houses 170

167 *moile.* G, mule.

170 *or treasure.* A omits *or*.

That some informer gapes for? Is my strength
Too much to be admitted? Or my knowledge?
These now are crimes.

Afe. Nay, Silius, if the name
Of crime so touch thee, with what impotence
Wilt thou endure the matter to be search'd? 175

Sil. I tell thee, Afer, with more scorne, then
feare :

Employ your mercenarie tongue, and arte.
Where's my accuser?

Var. Here.

Arr. [*aside*]. Varro? The Consul?
Is he thrust in?

Var. 'Tis I accuse thee, Silius.
Against the majestie of Rome, and Caesar, 180
I doe pronounce thee here a guiltie cause,
First, of beginning, and occasioning,
Next, drawing out the warre in Gallia,
For which thou late triumph'st; dissembling long
That Sacrovir to be an enemy, 185
Only to make thy entertainment more,
Whil'st thou, and thy wife Sosia poll'd the pro-
vince;

Wherein, with sordide-base desire of gaine,
Thou hast discredited thy actions worth
And beene a traytor to the state.

Sil. Thou lvest. 190

Arr. [*aside*]. I thanke thee, Silius, speake so
still, and often.

Var. If I not prove it, Caesar, but unjustly
Have call'd him into tryall, here I bind
My selfe to suffer, what I claime 'gainst him ;
And yeeld, to have what I have spoke, confirm'd 195
By judgement of the court, and all good men.

Sil. Caesar, I crave to have my cause defer'd,
Till this mans Consulship be out.

Tib. We cannot,
Nor may we graunt it.

Sil. Why? shall he designe
My day of triall? is he my accuser? 200
And must he be my judge?

Tib. It hath beene usuall,
And is a right, that custome hath allow'd
The magistrate, to call forth private men ;
And to appoint their day : Which priviledge
We may not in the Consul see infring'd, 205
By whose deepe watches, and industrious care
It is so labour'd, as the common-wealth
Receive no losse, by any oblique course.

Sil. Caesar, thy fraud is worse then violence.

Tib. Silius, mistake us not, we dare not use 210
The credit of the Consul, to thy wrong,
But only doe preserve his place, and power,
So farre as it concernes the dignitie,
And honor of the state.

Arr. Beleeve him, Silius.

Cotta. Why, so he may, Arruntius.

Arr.

I say so. 215

And he may choose too.

Tib.

By the capitoll,
And all our gods, but that the deare republick,
Our sacred lawes, and just authoritie
Are interest'd therein, I should be silent.

Afe. Please' Caesar to give way unto his tryall. 220
He shall have justice.

Sil.

Nay, I shall have law ;
Shall I not Afer ? speake.

Afe.

Would you have m[ore ?]

Sil. No, my well-spoken man, I would no
more ;

Nor lesse : might I injoy it naturall,
Not taught to speake unto your present ends, 225
Free from thine, his, and all your unkind hand-
ling,

Furious enforcing, most unjust presuming,
Malicious, and manifold applying,
Foule wresting, and impossible construction.

Afe. He raves, he raves.

Sil.

Thou durst not tell me so, 230
Had'st thou not Caesars warrant. I can see
Whose power condemnes me.

222 *more ?* In F, the letters after *m* have disappeared. Query,
mo or *more ?*

225 *Not.* A, Nor.

Var. This betrayes his spirit.
This doth inough declare him what he is.

Sil. What am I? speake.

Var. An enimie to the state.

Sil. Because I am an enimie to thee, 235
And such corrupted ministers o'the state,
That here art made a present instrument
To gratifie it with thine owne disgrace.

Sej. This, to the Consul, is most insolent!
And impious!

Sil. I, take part. Reveale your selves. 240
Alas, I sent not your confed'racies?
Your plots, and combinations? I not know
Minion Sejanus hates me; and that all
This boast of law, and law, is but a forme,
A net of Vulcanes filing, a meere ingine, 245
To take that life by a pretext of justice,
Which you pursue in malice? I want braine,
Or nostrill to perswade me, that your ends,
And purposes are made to what they are,
Before my answer? O, you equall gods, 250
Whose justice not a world of wolfe-turn'd men
Shall make me to accuse (how ere provoke)
Have I for this so oft engag'd my selfe?
Stood in the heate, and fervor of a fight,
When Phœbus sooner hath forsooke the day 255
Then I the field? Against the blue-ey'd Gaules?

236 *o'the.* Q, of the.

252 *provoke.* W, C, G, provoked.

And crisped Germanes? when our Romane
Eagles

Have fann'd the fire, with their labouring wings,
And no blow dealt, that left not death behind
it?

When I have charg'd, alone, into the troopes 260
Of curl'd Sicambrians, routed them, and came
Not off, with backward ensignes of a slave,
But forward markes, wounds on my brest, and
face,

Were meant to thee, ô Caesar, and thy Rome?
And have I this returne? did I, for this, 265
Performe so noble, and so brave defeate,
On Sacrovir? (ô Jove, let it become me
To boast my deedes, when he, whom they con-
cerne,

Shall thus forget them.)

Afe.

Silius, Silius,

These are the common customes of thy bloud, 270
When it is high with wine, as now with rage:
This well agrees, with that intemperate vaunt,
Thou lately mad'st at Agrippina's table,
That when all other of the troopes were prone
To fall into rebellion, only yours 275
Remain'd in their obedience. You were he,

265 *returne.* F3, A, return'd.

275 *yours.* Q, W, C, G, thine.

276 *You were* Q, W, C, G, Thou wert.

That sav'd the empire ; which had then beene
 lost,
 Had but your legions, there, rebell'd, or mutin'd.
 Your vertue met, and fronted every perill.
 You gave to Caesar, and to Rome their surety. 280
 Their name, their strength, their spirit, and their
 state,
 Their being was a donative from you.

Arr. Well worded, and most like an Orator.

Tib. Is this true, Silius ?

Sil. Save thy question, Caesar.

Thy spie, of famous credit, hath affirm'd it. 285

Arr. Excellent Romane !

Sab. He doth answere stoutly.

Sej. If this be so, there needes no farder cause
 Of crime against him.

Var. What can more impeach
 The royall dignitie, and state of Caesar,
 Then to be urged with a benefit 290
 He cannot pay ?

Cot. In this, all Caesars fortune
 Is made unequall to the courtesie.

Latiaris. His meanes are cleane destroy'd,
 that should requite.

Gal. Nothing is great inough for Silius merit.

277 *sav'd.* Q, sav'dst. 278 *your.* Q, W, C, G, thy.

279 *Your.* Q, W, C, G, Thy.

280 *You gave.* Q, W, C, G, Thou gav'st.

282 *you.* Q, W, C, G, thee. 287 *farder.* C, other.

Arr. [*aside*]. Gallus on that side to ?

Sil. Come, doe not hunt, 295

And labour so about for circumstance,

To make him guiltie, whom you have fore-
doom'd :

Take shorter wayes, I'le meet your purposes.

The wordes were mine, and more I now will
say :

Since I have done thee that great service, Caesar, 300

Thou still hast fear'd me ; and, in place of grace,

Return'd me hatred : so soone, all best turnes,

With doubtfull Princes, turne deepe injuries

In estimation, when they greater rise,

Then can be answer'd. Benefits, with you, 305

Are of no longer pleasure, then you can

With ease restore them ; that transcended once,

Your studies are not how to thanke, but kill.

It is your nature, to have all men slaves

To you, but you acknowledging to none. 310

The meanes that makes your greatnesse, must
not come

In mention of it ; if it doe, it takes

So much away, you thinke : and that, which
help'd,

Shall soonest perish, if it stand in eye,

Where it may front, or but upbraid the high. 315

303 *With . . . injuries.* Q, With Princes, do convert to injuries.

311 *makes.* Q, W, C, G, make.

Cot. Suffer him speake no more.

Var. Note but his spirit.

Afe. This shewes him in the rest.

Lat. Let him be censur'd.

Sej. He' hath spoke inough to prove him Caesars foe.

Cot. His thoughts looke through his words.

Sej. A censure.

Sil. Stay,

Stay, most officious Senate, I shall straight 320

Delude thy furie. Silius hath not plac'd

His guards within him, against fortunes spight,

So weakely, but he can escape your gripe

That are but hands of fortune: Shee her selfe

When vertue doth oppose, must lose her threats. 325

All that can happen in humanitie,

The frowne of Caesar, proud Sejanus hatred,

Base Varro's spleene, and Afers bloudying
tongue,

The Senates servile flatterie, and these

Mustred to kill, I'am fortified against; 330

And can looke downe upon: they are beneath me.

It is not life whereof I stand enamour'd:

Nor shall my end make me accuse my fate.

The coward, and the valiant man must fall,

Only the cause, and manner how, discernes
them: 335

317 *Lat.* . . . censur'd. C places this after next line.

Which then are gladdest, when they cost us
dearest.

Romanes, if any here be in this Senate,
Would know to mock Tiberius tyrannie,
Looke upon Silius, and so learne to die.

[*Stabs himself.*]

Var. O, desperate act !

Arr. An honorable hand ! 340

Tib. Looke, is he dead?

Sab. 'Twas nobly strooke, and home.

Arr. My thought did prompt him to it. Fare-
well, Silius.

Be famous ever for thy great example.

Tib. We are not pleas'd, in this sad accident,
That thus hath stalled, and abus'd our mercy, 345
Intended to preserve thee, noble Romane :
And to prevent thy hopes.

Arr. [*aside*]. Excellent wolfe !

Now he is full, he howles.

Sej. Caesar doth wrong

His dignitie, and safetie, thus to mourne
The deserv'd end of so profest a traytor, 350
And doth, by this his lenitie, instruct
Others as factious, to the like offence.

Tib. The confiscation meerely of his state
Had beene inough.

Arr. [*aside*]. O, that was gap'd for then ?

Var. Remove the body.

Sej.

Let citation

355

Goe out for Sosia.

Gal.

Let her be proscrib'd.

And for the goods, I thinke it fit that halfe

Goe to the treasure, halfe unto the children.

Lepidus. With leave of Caesar, I would
thinke, that fourth

Part, which the law doth cast on the informers, 360

Should be inough; the rest goe to the children:

Wherein the Prince shall shew humanitie,

And bountie, not to force them by their want

(Which in their parents trespasse they deserv'd)

To take ill courses.

Tib.

It shall please us.

Arr.

I,

365

Out of necessitie. This Lepidus

Is grave and honest, and I have observ'd

A moderation still in all his censures.

Sab. And bending to the better — Stay, who's
this?

Cremutius Cordus? what? is he brought in? 370

Arr. More bloud unto the banquet? Noble
Cordus,I wish thee good: Be as thy writings, free,
And honest.*Tib.*

What is he?

Sej.

For th'Annal's, Caesar.

360 *Part, which.* Q, G, The which.371 *unto.* W, C, G, into.

Præco, [enter] *Cordus*, *Satrius*, *Natta*.

Præ. Cremutius Cord'.

Cordus. Here.

Præ. Satrius Secund',

Pinnarius Natta, you are his accusers. 375

Arr. Two of Sejanus bloud-hounds, whom he breeds

With humane flesh, to bay at citizens.

Afe. Stand forth before the Senate, and confront him.

Satrius. I doe accuse thee here, Cremutius Cordus,

To be a man factious, and dangerous, 380

A sower of sedition in the state,

A turbulent, and discontented spirit,

Which I will prove from thine owne writings, here,

The Annal's thou hast publish'd; where thou bit'st

The present age, and with a vipers tooth, 385

Being a member of it, dar'st that ill

Which never yet degenerous bastard did

Upon his parent.

Natta. To this, I subscribe;

And, forth a world of more particulars,

Instance in only one: Comparing men, 390

And times, thou praysest Brutus, and affirm'st

That Cassius was the last of all the Romanes.

Cot. How! what are we then?

Var. What is Caesar? nothing?

Afe. My lords, this strikes at every Romanes private,

In whom raignes gentrie, and estate of spirit, 395
To have a Brutus brought in paralell,
A parricide, an enemie of his countrie,
Rank'd, and preferr'd to any reall worth
That Rome now holds. This is most strangely
 invective.

Most full of spight, and insolent upbraiding. 400
Nor is't the time alone is here dispris'd,
But the whole man of time, yea Caesar's selfe
Brought in disvalew; and he aym'd at most
By oblique glance of his licentious pen.
Caesar, if Cassius were the last of Romanes, 405
Thou hast no name.

Tib. Let's heare him answer. Silence.

Cor. So innocent I am of fact, my lords,
As but my words are argu'd; yet those words
Not reaching eyther prince, or princes parent:
The which your law of treason comprehends. 410
Brutus, and Cassius, I am charg'd, t'have prays'd:
Whose deedes, when many more, besides my
 selfe,
Have writ, not one hath mention'd without
 honour.

400 *insolent.* W, C, insolently.

Great Titus Livius, great for eloquence,
And faith, amongst us, in his historie, 415
With so great prayes Pompey did extoll,
As oft Augustus call'd him a Pompeian :
Yet this not hurt their friendship. In his booke
He often names Scipio, Afranius,
Yea, the same Cassius, and this Brutus too, 420
As worthi'st men ; not theeves, and parricides,
Which notes, upon their fames, are now impos'd.

Asinius Pollio's writings quite throughout
Give them a noble memorie ; So Messalla
Renown'd his generall Cassius : yet both these 425
Liv'd with Augustus, full of wealth, and honours.
To Cicero's booke, where Cato was heav'd up
Equall with heav'n, what else did Caesar answere,
Being then Dictator, but with a penn'd oration,
As if before the judges ? Doe but see 430
Antonius letters ; read but Brutus pleadings :
What vile reproch they hold against Augustus,
False I confesse, but with much bitterness.
The Epigram's of Bibaculus, and Catullus,
Are read, full stuf with spight of both the Cae-
sars ; 435

Yet deified Julius, and no lesse Augustus !
Both bore them, and contemn'd them : (I not
know
Promptly to speake it, whether done with more

Temper, or wisdom) for such obloquies
If they despised bee, they dye suppress, 440
But, if with rage acknowledg'd, they are confest.
The Greekes I slip, whose licence not alone,
But also lust did scape unpunished :
Or where some one (by chance) exception tooke,
He words with words reveng'd. But, in my
worke, 445

What could be aim'd more free, or farder of
From the times scandale, then to write of those,
Whom death from grace, or hatred had exempted?
Did I, with Brutus, and with Cassius,
Arm'd, and possess'd of the Philippi fields, 450
Incense the people in the civill cause,
With dangerous speeches? or doe they, being
slaine

Seventie yeeres since, as by their images
(Which not the conquerour hath defac'd) ap-
peares,

Retaine that guiltie memorie with writers ? 455
Posteritie payes everie man his honour.
Nor shall there want, though I condemned am,
That will not only Cassius well approve,
And of great Brutus honour mindfull be,
But that will, also, mention make of me. 460

Arr. Freely, and nobly spoken.

Sab. With good temper,
I like him, that he is not mov'd with passion.

Arr. He puts 'hem to their whisper.

Tib. Take him hence,
We shall determine of him at next sitting.

[*Exeunt Officers with Cordus.*]

Cot. Meane time, give order, that his bookes
be burn't, 465
To the'Ædiles.

Sej. You have well advis'd.

Afe. It fits not such licentious things should
live
T'upbraid the age.

Arr. If th'age were good, they might.

Lat. Let 'hem be burnt.

Gal. All sought, and burnt, today.

Præ. The court is up, Lictors, resume the
fasces. 470

[*Exeunt all but*] *Arruntius, Sabinus, Lepidus.*

Arr. Let 'hem be burnt! ô, how ridicu-
lous

Appeares the Senate's brainlesse diligence,
Who thinke they can, with present power, ex-
tinguish

The memorie of all succeeding times!

Sab. 'Tis true, when (contrarie) the punish-
ment 475

Of wit, doth make th'authoritie increase.
Nor doe they ought, that use this crueltie

Of interdiction, and this rage of burning;
But purchase to themselves rebuke, and shame,
And to the writers an eternall name. 480

Lep. It is an argument the times are sore,
When vertue cannot safely be advanc'd;
Nor vice reprov'd.

Arr. I, noble Lepidus,
Augustus well foresaw, what we should suffer,
Under Tiberius, when he did pronounce 485
The Roman race most wretched, that should
live

Betweene so slow jawes, and so long a bruising.
[*Exeunt.*]

[SCENE II. *A Room in the Palace.*

Enter] *Tiberius*, [*and*] *Sejanus*.

Tiberius. This businesse hath succeeded well,
Sejanus:

And quite remoov'd all jealousie of practice
'Gainst Agrippina, and our nephewes. Now,
We must bethinke us how to plant our ingines
For th'other paire, Sabinus, and Arruntius, 5
And Gallus too (how ere he flatter us,)
His heart we know.

Sejanus. Give it some respite, Caesar.
Time shall mature, and bring to perfect crowne,
What we, with so good vultures, have begunne:
Sabinus shall be next.

Tib. Rather Arruntius. 10

Sej. By any meanes, preserve him. His franke
tongue

Being lent the reines, will take away all thought
Of malice, in your course against the rest.

We must keep him to stalke with.

Tib. Dearest head,
To thy most for[t]unate designe I yeeld it. 15

Sej. Sir — I have beene so long train'd up in
grace,

First, with your father, great Augustus, since,
With your most happie bounties so familiar,
As I not sooner would commit my hopes
Or wishes to the gods, then to your eares. 20

Nor have I ever, yet, beene covetous
Of over-bright, and dazling honours: rather
To watch, and travaile in great Caesar's safetie,
With the most common souldier.

Tib. 'Tis confest.

Sej. The only gaine, and which I count most
faire 25

Of all my fortunes, is that mightie Caesar *His*
Hath thought me worthie his alliance. *daughter*

Hence

Beginne my hopes. *was be-*
troth'd to

Tib. H'mh? *Claudius,*
his sonne.

12 *will.* W, C, G, would.

18 *With . . . familiar.* Q, To your . . . so inur'd.

27 *Hath.* W, C, G, Has. *His . . . sonne.* Latin in Q.

Sej. I have heard, Augustus
In the bestowing of his daughter, thought
But even of gentlemen of Rome: If so, 30
(I know not how to hope so great a favour)
But if a husband should be sought for Livia,
And I be had in minde, as Caesars freind,
I would but use the glorie of the kindred.
It should not make me slothfull, or lesse caring 35
For Caesars state; it were inough to me
It did confirme, and strengthen my weake house,
Against the-now-unequall opposition
Of Agrippina; 'and for deare reguard
Unto my children, this I wish: my selfe 40
Have no ambition farder, then to end
My dayes in service of so deare a master.

Tib. We cannot but commend thy pietie
Most-lov'd Sejanus, in acknowledging
Those bounties; which we faintly, such, re-
member. 45
But to thy suit. The rest of mortall men,
In all their drifts, and counsels, pursue profit:
Princes, alone, are of a different sort,
Directing their maine actions still to fame.
We therefore will take time to thinke, and an-
swere. 50

For Livia, she can best, her selfe, resolve
If she will marrie after Drusus, or

42 *master.* Q, Prince.43 *pietie.* Q, pitty.

Be wise, deare friend. We would not hide these
things

For friendships deare respect. Nor will we stand
Adverse to thine, or Livia's designements. 80

What we had purpos'd to thee, in our thought,
And with what neere degrees of love to bind
thee,

And make thee equall to us, for the present,
We will forbear to speake. Only thus much
Believe our lov'd Sejanus, we not know 85

That height in bloud, or honour, which thy
vertue,

And minde to us, may not aspire with merit;
And this wee'll publish, on all watch'd occasion
The Senate, or the people shall present.

Sej I am restor'd, and to my sense againe, 90
Which I had lost in this so blinding suit.

Caesar hath taught me better to refuse,
Then I knew how to aske. How pleaseth Caesar
T'imbrace my late advice, for leaving Rome?

Tib. We are resolv'd.

Sej. Here are some motives more 95
[*Gives him a paper.*]

Which I have thought on since, may more con-
firme.

Tib. Carefull Sejanus! we will straight peruse
them:

Goe forward in our maine designe, and prosper.
[Exit.]

[Manet] *Sejanus.*

Sej. If those but take, I shall. Dull, heavie
Caesar!

Would'st thou tell me, thy favours were made
crimes? 100

And that my fortunes were esteem'd thy faults?
That thou, for me, wert hated? and not thinke
I would with winged haste prevent that change,
When thou might'st winne all to thy selfe againe,
By forfeiture of me? Did those fond words 105
Fly swifter from thy lips, then this my braine,
This sparkling forge, created me an armor
T'encounter chance, and thee? Well, read my
charmes,

And may they lay that hold upon thy senses,
As thou had'st snuft up hemlocke, or tane downe 110
The juice of poppie, and of mandrakes. Sleepe,
Voluptuous Caesar, and securitie
Seize on thy stupide powers, and leave them
dead

To publique cares, awake but to thy lusts.
The strength of which makes thy libidinous
soule 115

Itch to leave Rome; and I have thrust it on:
With blaming of the citie businesse,

114 To . . . lusts. F2-C, semi-colon after *cares*, comma after *lusts*; G, semi-colon after *cares*.

The multitude of suites, the confluence
Of suitors, then their importunacies,
The manifold distractions he must suffer, 120
Besides ill rumours, envies, and reproches,
All which, a quiet and retired life,
(Larded with ease, and pleasure) did avoid ;
And yet, for any weightie, 'and great affaire,
The fittest place to give the soundest counsels. 125
By this, shall I remoove him both from thought,
And knowledge of his owne most deare affaires ;
Draw all dispatches through my private hands ;
Know his designements, and pursue mine owne ;
Make mine owne strengths, by giving suites, and
places ; 130
Conferring dignities, and offices :
And these, that hate me now, wanting accesse
To him, will make their envie none, or lesse.
For when they see me arbiter of all,
They must observe : or else, with Caesar fall. 135
[Exit.]

[SCENE III. *Another Room in the Same.*

Enter Tiberius, [*later*] Servus.

Tiberius. To marry Livia? will no lesse,
Sejanus,
Content thy aimes? no lower object? well!

119 *importunacies.* A, Importunities.

120 *distractions.* A, Distraction.

126 *shall I.* G, I shall.

130 *suites.* A, Sums.

Thou know'st how thou art wrought into our
trust ;

Woven in our designe ; and think'st, we must
Now use thee, whatsoere thy projects are : 5

'Tis true. But yet with caution, and fit care.
And, now we better thinke — who's there,
within ?

Servus. Caesar ?

Tib. To leave our journey off, were sin
'Gainst our decree'd delights ; and would appeare
Doubt : or (what lesse becomes a prince) low
feare. 10

Yet, doubt hath law, and feares have their ex-
cuse,

Where princes states plead necessarie use ;
As ours doth now : more in Sejanus pride,
Then all fell Agrippina's hates beside.
Those are the dreadfull enemies, we raise 15
With favours, and make dangerous, with prayse ;
The injur'd by us may have will alike,
But 'tis the favourite hath the power, to strike :
And furie ever boyles more high, and strong,
Heat' with ambition, then revenge of wrong. 20
'Tis then a part of supreme skill, to grace
No man too much ; but hold a certaine space

11 *doubt.* A, Doubts.

14 *Then all fell Agrippina's.* F2, F3, A, Than in all Agrippina's.

15 *Those.* Q, They.

Betweene th'ascenders rise, and thine owne flat,
Lest, when all rounds be reach'd, his aime be
that.

'Tis thought — Is Macro in the palace? See: 25
If not, goe, seeke him, to come to us —

[*Exit Servus.*]

Hee

Must be the organ, we must worke by now;
Though none lesse apt for trust: Need doth allow
What choise would not. I'have heard, that
aconite

Being timely taken, hath a healing might 30
Against the scorpions stroke; the prooffe wee'll
give:

That, while two poysons wrastle, we may live.
Hee hath a spirit too working, to be us'd
But to th'encounter of his like; excus'd
Are wiser sov'raignes then, that raise one ill 35
Against another, and both safely kill:

The prince, that feeds great natures, they will
sway him;

Who nourisheth a lyon, must obey him.

[*To*] *Tiberius*, [*re-enter Servus with*] *Macro*.

Macro, we sent for you.

Macro.

I heard so, Caesar.

Tib. (Leave us awhile.) [Exit *Servus*.]

When you shal know, good Macro, 40
The causes of our sending, and the ends;

You then will harken neerer : and be pleas'd
You stand so high, both in our choise, and trust.

Mac. The humblest place in Caesars choise,
or trust,

May make glad Macro proud; without ambition : 45
Save to doe Caesar service.

Tib. Leave our courtings.

We are in purpose, Macro, to depart
The citie for a time, and see Campania;
Not for our pleasures, but to dedicate
A paire of temples, one, to Jupiter

At Capua, th'other at Nola, to Augustus :
In which great worke, perhaps, our stay will be
Beyond our will produc't. Now, since we are
Not ignorant what danger may be borne

Out of our shortest absence, in a state
So subject unto envie, and embroild

With hate, and faction, we have thought on thee,
(Amongst a field of Romanes,) worthiest Macro,

To be our eye, and care, to keepe strict watch
On Agrippina, Nero, Drusus, I, 60

And on Sejanus: Not, that we distrust
His loyalty, or doe repent one grace,
Of all that heape, we have conferrd on him.

(For that were to disparage our election,
And call that judgement now in doubt, which
then

42 then will. G, will then.

46 *our.* F2, etc., *your.*

Seem'd as unquestion'd as an oracle,)
 But, greatnesse hath his cankers. Wormes, and
 moaths
 Breed out of too fit matter, in the things
 Which after they consume, transferring quite
 The substance of their makers, int' themselves. 70
 Macro is sharpe, and apprehends. Besides,
 I know him subtle, close, wise, and wel-read
 In man, and his large nature. He hath studied
 Affections, passions, knowes their springs, their
 ends,
 Which way, and whether they will worke: 'tis
 prooffe 75
 Inough, of his great merit, that we trust him.
 Then, to a point; (because our conference
 Cannot be long without suspition)
 Here, Macro, we assigne thee, both to spie,
 Informe, and chastise; thinke, and use thy
 meanes, 80
 Thy ministers, what, where, on whom thou wilt;
 Explore, plot, practise: All thou doost in this,
 Shall be, as if the Senate, or the Lawes
 Had giv'n it priviledge, and thou thence stil'd
 The savier both of Caesar, and of Rome. 85
 We will not take thy answere, but in act:
 Whereto, as thou proceed'st, we hope to heare

68 *fit matter*. Q, FH, FP, F2, F3, W, C, G, much humor.
 A, much Honour.

By trusted messengers. If 't be enquir'd,
 Wherefore we call'd you, say, you have in charge
 To see our chariots readie, and our horse : 90
 Be still our lov'd, and (shortly) honor'd Macro.
 [Exit.]

[*Manet*] Macro.

Mac. I will not aske, why Caesar bids doe this :
 But joy, that he bids me. It is the blisse
 Of courts, to be imploy'd ; no matter, how ;
 A princes power makes all his actions vertue. 95
 We, whom he workes by, are dumbe instruments,
 To doe, but not enquire : His great intents
 Are to be serv'd, not search'd. Yet, as that bow
 Is most in hand, whose owner best doth know
 T'affect his aymes, so let that states-man hope 100
 Most use, most price, can hit his princes scope.
 Nor must he looke at what, or whom to strike,
 But lose at all ; each marke must be alike.
 Were it to plot against the fame, the life
 Of one, with whom I twin'd ; remove a wife 105
 From my warme side, as lov'd, as is the ayre ;
 Practise away each parent ; draw mine heyre
 In compasse, though but one ; worke all my kin
 To swift perdition ; leave no untrain'd engin,
 For friendship, or for innocence ; nay, make 110
 The gods all guiltie : I would undertake
 This, being impos'd me, both with gaine, and
 ease.

The way to rise, is to obey, and please.
He that will thrive in state, he must neglect
The trodden paths, that truth and right respect; 115
And prove new, wilder wayes : for vertue, there,
Is not that narrow thing, shee is else-where.
Mens fortune there is vertue ; reason, their will :
Their licence, law ; and their observance, skill.
Occasion, is their foile ; conscience, their staine ; 120
Profit, their lustre : and what else is, vaine.
If then it be the lust of Caesars power,
T'have rais'd Sejanus up, and in an hower
O're-turne him, tumbling, downe, from height
of all ;
We are his ready engine : and his fall 125
May be our rise. It is no uncouth thing
To see fresh buildings from old ruines spring.
[Exit.]

CHORUS — *Of Musicians.*

ACT III.

[SCENE I. *An Apartment in Agrippina's House.*

Enter] Gallus, [*and*] Agrippina, [*later*] Nero,
Drusus, Caligula.

Gallus. You must have patience, royall
Agrippina.

Agrippina. I must have vengeance, first : and
that were nectar

Unto my famish'd spirits. O, my fortune,
Let it be sodaine thou prepar'st against me ;
Strike all my powers of understanding blind, 5
And ignorant of destinie to come :
Let me not feare, that cannot hope.

Gal. Deare Princesse,
These tyrannies, on your selfe, are worse then
Caesar's.

Agr. Is this the happinesse of being borne
great ?

Still to be aim'd at ? still to be suspected ? 10
To live the subject of all jealousies ?
At least the colour made, if not the ground
To every painted danger ? who would not
Choose once to fall, then thus to hang for ever ?

Gal. You might be safe, if you would—

Agr. What, my Gallus ? 15

Be lewd Sejanus strumpet? Or the baud
To Caesars lusts, he now is gone to practise?
Not these are safe, where nothing is. Your selfe,
While thus you stand but by me, are not safe.
Was Silius safe? or the good Sosia safe? 20
Or was my niece, deare Claudia Pulchra safe?
Or innocent Furnius? They, that latest have
(By being made guiltie) added reputation
To Afers eloquence? O, foolish friends,
Could not so fresh example warne your loves, 25
But you must buy my favours, with that losse
Unto your selves: and, when you might per-
ceive

That Caesars cause of raging must forsake him,
Before his will? Away, good Gallus, leave me.
Here to be seene, is danger; to speake, treason: 30
To doe me least observance, is call'd faction.
You are unhappy in me, and I in all.
Where are my sonnes? Nero? and Drusus?
We

Are they, be shot at; Let us fall apart:
Not, in our ruines, sepulchre our friends. 35
Or shall we doe some action, like offence,
To mocke their studies, that would make us
faultie?

And frustrate practice, by preventing it?
The danger's like: for, what they can contrive,

They will make good. No innocence is safe, 40
When power contests. Nor can they trespassse
more,

Whose only being was all crime, before.

Nero. You heare, Sejanus is come backe
from Caesar?

Gal. No. How? Disgrac'd?

Drusus. More graced now, then ever.

Gal. By what mischance?

Caligula. A fortune, like inough 45
Once to be bad.

Dru. But turn'd too good, to both.

Gal. What was't?

Ner. Tiberius sitting at his meat,
In a farme house, they call Spelunca, sited
By the sea-side, among the Fundane hills,
Within a naturall cave, part of the grot 50
(About the entrie) fell, and over-whelm'd
Some of the wayters; others ran away:
Only Sejanus, with his knees, hands, face,
Ore-hanging Caesar, did oppose himselfe
To the remayning ruines, and was found 55
In that so labouring posture, by the souldiers
That came to succour him. With which adven-
ture,

He hath so fixt himselfe in Caesar's trust,
As thunder cannot moove him, and is come
With all the height of Caesars praise, to Rome. 60

Agr. And power, to turne those ruines all
on us;
And bury whole posterities beneath them.
Nero, and Drusus, and Caligula,
Your places are the next, and therefore most
In their offence. Thinke on your birth, and bloud, 65
Awake your spirits, meete their violence,
'Tis princely, when a tyran doth oppose;
And is a fortune sent to exercise
Your vertue, as the wind doth trie strong trees:
Who by vexation grow more sound, and firme. 70
After your fathers fall, and uncles fate,
What can you hope, but all the change of stroke
That force, or slight can give? then stand up-
right;
And though you doe not act, yet suffer nobly:
Be worthy of my wombe, and take strong
cheare; 75
What we doe know will come, we should not
feare. [Exeunt.]

[SCENE II. *The Street.*

Enter] *Macro.*

Macro. Return'd so soone? renew'd in trust,
and grace?

Is Caesar then so weake? or hath the place
But wrought this alteration, with the aire;
And he, on next remove, will all repaire?

•

Macro, thou art ingag'd: and what before 5
 Was publique; now, must be thy private, more.
 The weale of Caesar, fitnessse did imply;
 But thine owne fate confers necessity
 On thy employment: and the thoughts borne
 nearest
 Unto our selves, move swiftest still, and dearest. 10
 If he recover, thou art lost: yea, all
 The weight of preparation to his fall
 Will turne on thee, and crush thee. Therefore,
 strike
 Before he settle, to prevent the like
 Upon thy selfe. He doth his vantage know, 15
 That makes it home, and gives the foremost
 blow. [Exit.]

[SCENE III. *An Upper Room of Agrippina's House.*

Enter] *Latiaris, Rufus, [and] Opsius.*

Latiaris. It is a service, great Sejanus will
 See well requited, and accept of nobly.
 Here place your selves, betweene the rooffe, and
 seeling,
 And when I bring him to his wordes of danger,
 Reveale your selves, and take him.

Rufus. Is he come? 5

Lat. I'le now goe fetch him. [Exit.]

1 *great.* Q, W, C, G, Lord.

Opsius. With good speed. I long
To merit from the state, in such an action.

Ruf. I hope, it will obtayne the Consul-ship
For one of us.

Ops. We cannot thinke of lesse,
To bring in one, so dangerous as Sabinus. 10

Ruf. He was a follower of Germanicus,
And still is an observer of his wife,
And children, though they be declin'd in grace ;
A daily visitant, keepes them companie
In private, and in publique ; and is noted 15
To be the only client, of the house :
Pray Jove, he will be free to Latiaris.

Ops. H'is alli'd to him, and doth trust him
well.

Ruf. And he'll requite his trust ?

Ops. To doe an office
So gratefull to the state, I know no man 20
But would straine neerer bands, then kindred —

Ruf. List,
I heare them come.

Ops. Shift to our holes, with silence.
[*They retire.*]

[*Re-enter*] *Latiaris*, [*with*] *Sabinus*.

Lat. It is a noble constancie you shew
To this afflicted house : that not like others,
(The friends of season) you doe follow fortune, 25
And in the winter of their fate, forsake

The place, whose glories warm'd you. You are
just,

And worthy such a princely patrones love,
As was the worlds-renown'd Germanicus :
Whose ample merit when I call to thought, 30
And see his wife and issue, objects made
To so much envie, jealousy, and hate,
It makes me ready to accuse the gods
Of negligence, as men of tyrannie.

Sabinus. They must be patient, so must we.

Lat. O Jove. 35

What will become of us, or of the times,
When, to be high, or noble, are made crimes ?
When land, and treasure are most dangerous
faults ?

Sab. Nay, when our table, yea our bed assaults
Our peace, and safetie ? when our writings are, 40
By any envious instruments (that dare
Apply them to the guiltie) made to speake
What they will have, to fit their tyrannous
wreake ?

When ignorance is scarcely innocence :
And knowledge made a capitall offence ? 45
When not so much, but the bare emptie shade
Of libertie, is reft us ? and we made,
The prey to greedie Vultures, and vile spies,
That first transfixe us with their murdering eyes ?

Lat. Me thinkes, the Genius of the Romane
race

Should not be so extinct, but that bright flame
Of libertie might be reviv'd againe,
(Which no good man but with his life, should
lose)

And we not sit like spent, and patient fooles
Still puffing in the darke, at one poore coale, 55
Held on by hope, till the last sparke is out.

The cause is publique, and the honour, name,
The immortalitie of every soule

That is not bastard, or a slave in Rome,
Therein concern'd: Whereto, if men would
change 60

The weari'd arme, and for the waightie shield
So long sustain'd, employ the facile sword,
We might have some assurance of our vows.
This asses fortitude doth tyre us all.

It must be active valour must redeeme 65
Our losse, or none. The rocke, and our hard
steele

Should meete, t'enforce those glorious fires
again,

Whose splendor cheer'd the world, and heat
gave life

No less then doth the sunne's.

Sab. 'Twere better stay,
In lasting darkenesse, and despaire of day. 70

62 *facile*. F2, F3, A, W, C, ready.

63 *some*. F2, etc., soon.

No ill should force the subject undertake
Against the soveraigne; more then hell should
make

The gods doe wrong. A good man should, and
must

Sit rather downe with losse, then rise unjust.
Though, when the Romanes first did yeeld them-
selves

75

To one mans power, they did not meane their
lives,

Their fortunes, and their liberties, should be
His absolute spoile, as purchas'd by the sword.

Lat. Why we are worse, if to be slaves, and
bond

To Caesars slave, be such, the proud Sejanus? 80

He that is all, do's all, gives Caesar leave

To hide his ulcerous, and anointed face,
With his bald crowne at Rhodes, while he here
stalkes

Upon the heads of Romanes, and their Princes,
Familiarly to Empire.

Sab. Now you touch

85

A point indeed, wherein he shewes his arte,
As well as power.

Lat. And villany in both.

Doe you observe where Livia lodges? How
Drusus came dead? What men have beene cut
off?

Sab. Yes, those are things remov'd : I neerer
look't, 90
Into his later practice, where he stands
Declar'd a master in his mysterie.
First, ere Tiberius went, he wrought his feare,
To thinke that Agrippina sought his death.
Then put those doubts in her ; sent her oft word, 95
Under the show of friendship, to beware
Of Caesar, for he laid to poyson her :
Drave them to frownes, to mutuall jealousies,
Which, now, in visible hatred are burst out.
Since, he hath had his hyred instruments 100
To worke on Nero, and to heave him up ;
To tell him Caesar's old ; That all the people,
Yea, all the armie have their eyes on him ;
That both doe long to have him undertake
Something of worth, to give the world a hope ; 105
Bids him to court their grace ; the easie youth,
Perhaps, gives eare, which straight he writes to
Caesar ;
And with this comment : See yon'd dangerous
boy,
Note but the practice of the mother, there,
Shee's tying him, for purposes at hand, 110
With men of sword. Here's Caesar put in fright
'Gainst sonne, and mother. Yet, he leaves not
thus.

90 *neerer.* F2, F3, A, never.108 *yon'd.* A, etc., yon.

The second brother Drusus (a fierce nature,
And fitter for his snares, because ambitious,
And full of envie) him he clasp's, and hugs, 115
Poysons with praise, tells him what hearts he
weares,

How bright he stands in popular expectance ;
That Rome doth suffer with him, in the wrong
His mother does him, by preferring Nero :
Thus sets he them asunder, each 'gainst other, 120
Projects the course, that serves him to con-
demne,

Keeps in opinion of a friend to all,
And all drives on to ruine.

Lat. Caesar sleeps,

And nods at this?

Sab. Would he might ever sleepe,
Bogg'd in his filthy lusts.

[*Opsius and Rufus rusb in.*]

Ops. Treason to Caesar. 125

Ruf. Lay hands upon the traytor, Latiaris,
Or take the name thy selfe.

Lat. I am for Caesar.

Sab. Am I then catch'd ?

Ruf. How thinke you, sir? you are.

Sab. Spies of this head ! so white ! so full of
yeeres !

Well, my most reverend monsters, you may live ¹³⁰
To see your selves thus snar'd.

Ops. Away with him.

Lat. Hale him away.

Ruf. To be a spie for traytors,
Is honorable vigilance.

Sab. You doe well,
My most officious instruments of state ;
Men of all uses : Drag me hence, away. 135
The yeere is well begun, and I fall fit,
To be an offering to Sejanus. Goe.

Ops. Cover him with his garments, hide his
face.

Sab. It shall not need. Forbeare your rude
assault,
The fault's not shamefull[,] villainie makes a
fault. [Exeunt.] 140

[SCENE IV. *The Street before Agrippina's House.*

Enter Macro, [*and*] Caligula.

Macro. Sir, but observe how thicke your
dangers meete
In his cleare drifts ! Your mother, and your
brothers,
Now cited to the Senate ! Their friend, Gallus,
Feasted to day by Caesar, since committed !
Sabinus, here we met, hurried to fetters ! 5
The Senators all strooke with feare, and silence,

136 *fall.* C, shall.

140 *shamefull.* F omits comma after this.

Save those, whose hopes depend not on good
meanes,

But force their private prey, from publique
spoile !

And you must know, if here you stay, your state
Is sure to be the subject of his hate, 10
As now the object.

Caligula. What would you advise me ?

Mac. To goe for Capreæ presently : and there
Give up your selfe, entirely, to your uncle.
Tell Caesar (since your mother is accus'd
To flie for succours to Augustus statue, 15
And to the armie, with your brethren) you
Have rather chose, to place your aides in him,
Then live suspected ; or in houely feare
To be thrust out, by bold Sejanu's plots :
Which, you shall confidently urge, to be 20
Most full of perill to the state, and Caesar,
As being laid to his peculiar ends,
And not to be let run, with common safety.
All which (upon the second) I'll make plaine,
So both shall love, and trust with Caesar gaine. 25

Cal. Away then, let's prepare us for our
journey. [*Exeunt.*]

25 So. Q, And.

[SCENE V. *Another Part of the Street.*

Enter] Arruntius.

Arruntius. Still, do'st thou suffer heav'n? will
no flame,

No heate of sinne make thy just wrath to boile
In thy distemp'red bosome, and ore-flow
The pitchy blazes of impietie,
Kindled beneath thy throne? Still canst thou
sleepe,

5

Patient, while vice doth make an antique face
At thy drad power, and blow dust, and smoke
Into thy nostrils? Jove, will nothing wake thee?
Must vile Sejanus pull thee by the beard,
Ere thou wilt open thy black-lidded eye,
And looke him dead? Well! Snore on, dream-
ing gods :

10

And let this last of that proud Giant-race,
• Heave mountayne upon mountayne, 'gainst your
state —

Be good unto me, fortune, and you powers,
Whom I, expostulating, have profan'd ;
I see (what's equall with a prodigie)
A great, a noble Romane, and an honest,
Live an old man ! O, Marcus Lepidus,
When is our turne to bleed ? Thy selfe, and I
(Without our boast) are a'most all the few
Left, to be honest, in these impious times.

15

20

[Enter] *Lepidus*, [to] *Arruntius*.

Lepidus. What we are left to be, we will be,
Lucius,

Though tyrannie did stare, as wide as death,
To fright us from it.

Arr. 'T hath so, on Sabinus.

Lep. I saw him now drawne from the Gemonies,

25

And (what increas'd the direnesse of the fact)
His faithfull dogge (upbraiding all us Romanes)
Never forsooke the corp's, but, seeing it throwne
Into the streame, leap'd in, and drown'd with it.

Arr. O act! to be envi'd him, of us men!

30

We are the next, the hooke layes hold on, Mar-
cus:

What are thy artes (good patriot, teach them me)
That have preserv'd thy haire, to this white die,
And kept so reverend, and so deare a head,
Safe, on his comely shoulders?

Lep.

Arts, Arruntius? 35

None, but the plaine, and passive fortitude,
To suffer, and be silent; never stretch
These armes, against the torrent; live at home,
With my owne thoughts, and innocence about
me,

Not tempting the wolves jawes: these are my
artes.

40

Arr. I would begin to studie 'hem, if I thought

They would secure me. May I pray to Jove,
In secret, and be safe? I, or aloud?
With open wishes? so I doe not mention
Tiberius, or Sejanus? yes, I must, 45
If I speake out. 'Tis hard, that. May I thinke,
And not be rackt? What danger is't to dreame?
Talke in ones sleepe? or cough? who knowes
the law?

May I shake my head, without a comment? say
It raines, or it holds up, and not be throwne 50
Upon the Gemonies? These now are things,
Whereon mens fortune, yea their fate depends.
Nothing hath priviledge 'gainst the violent eare.
No place, no day, no houre (we see) is free
(Not our religious, and most sacred times) 55
From some one kind of crueltie: all matter,
Nay all occasion pleaseth. Mad-mens rage,
The idlenesse of drunkards, womens nothing,
Jesters simplicity, all, all is good
That can be catch'd at. Nor is now th'event 60
Of any person, or for any crime,
To be expected: for, 'tis alwayes one:
Death, with some little difference of place,
Or time — what's this? Prince Nero? guarded?

Laco, Nero, [with Guards, to] Lepidus, Arruntius.

Laco. On, Lictors, keepe your way: My
lords, forbear. 65
On paine of Caesars wrath, no man attempt
Speech with the prisoner,

Nero. Noble friends, be safe :
 To loose your selves for wordes, were as vaine
 hazard,
 As unto me small comfort : Fare you well.
 Would all Rome's sufferings in my fate did dwell. 70

Lac. Lictors, away.

Lep. Where goes he, Laco ?

Lac. Sir,

H'is banish'd into Pontia, by the Senate.

Arr. Do' I see ? and heare ? and feele ? May
 I trust sense ?

Or doth my phant'sie forme it ?

Lep. Where's his brother ?

Lac. Drusus is prisoner in the palace.

Arr. Ha ? 75

I smell it now : 'tis ranke. Where's Agrippina ?

Lac. The princesse is confin'd, to Pandataria.

Arr. Bolts, Vulcan ; bolts, for Jove ! Phæbus,
 thy bow ;

Sterne Mars, thy sword ; and blue-ey'd Maid,
 thy speare ;

Thy club, Alcides : all the armorie 80

Of heaven is too little ! — Ha ? to guard

The gods, I meant. Fine, rare dispatch ! This
 same

Was swiftly borne ! confin'd ? imprison'd ?
 banish'd ?

Most tripartite ! The cause, sir ?

Lac.

Treason.

Arr.

O?

The complement of all accusings? that 85
Will hit, when all else failes.

Lep.

This turne is strange!

But yesterday, the people would not heare
Farre lesse objected, but cry'd, Caesars letters
Were false, and forg'd; that all these plots were
malice:

And that the ruine of the Princes house 90
Was practis'd 'gainst his knowledge. Where are
now

Their voyces? now, that they behold his heires
Lock'd up, disgrac'd, led into exile?

Arr.

Hush'd.

Drown'd in their bellies. Wild Sejanus breath
Hath, like a whirle-wind, scatter'd that poore
dust, 95

With this rude blast. Wee'll talke no treason, sir,

He turnes to Laco and the rest.

If that be it you stand for? Fare you well.

We have no need of horse-leeches. Good spie,
Now you are spi'd, be gone.

[Exeunt Laco, Nero, and Guards.]

Lep.

I feare, you wrong him.

He has the voyce to be an honest Romane. 100

Arr. And trusted to this office? Lepidus,
I'd sooner trust Greeke-Sinon, then a man

Our state employes. Hee's gone : and being gone,
 I dare tell you (whom I dare better trust)
 That our night-eyed Tiberius doth not see 105
 His minions drifts ; or, if he doe, h'is not
 So errant subtile, as we fooles doe take him :
 To breed a mungrell up, in his owne house,
 With his owne blood, and (if the good gods
 please)

At his owne throte, flesh him, to take a leape. 110
 I doe not beg it, heav'n : but, if the fates
 Grant it these eyes, they must not winke.

Lep.

They must

Not see it, Lucius.

Arr.

Who should let 'hem ?

Lep.

Zeale,

And dutie ; with the thought, he is our Prince.

Arr. He is our monster : forfeited to vice 115
 So far, as no rack'd vertue can redeeme him.

His lothed person fouler then all crimes :

An Emp'rour, only in his lusts. Retir'd

(From all regard of his owne fame, or Rome's)

Into an obscure Iland ; where he lives 120

(Acting his tragedies with a comick face)

Amid'st his rout of Chaldee's : spending houres,

Dayes, weekes, and months, in the unkind abuse

Of grave astrologie, to the bane of men,

Casting the scope of mens nativities, 125

And having found ought worthy in their fortune,
Kill, or precipitate them in the sea,
And boast, he can mocke fate. Nay, muse not:
these

Are farre from ends of evill, scarce degrees.
He hath his slaughter-house, at Capreæ; 130
Where he doth studie murder, as an arte:
And they are dearest in his grace, that can
Devise the deepest tortures. Thither, too,
He hath his boyes, and beauteous girles tane up,
Out of our noblest houses, the best form'd, 135
Best nurtur'd, and most modest: what's their
good

Serves to provoke his bad. Some are allur'd,
Some threatned; others (by their friends detain'd)
Are ravish'd hence, like captives, and, in sight
Of their most grieved parents, dealt away 140
Unto his spintries, sellaries, and slaves,
Masters of strange, and new-commented lusts,
For which wise nature hath not left a name.
To this (what most strikes us, and bleeding
Rome,)

He is, with all his craft, become the ward 145
To his owne vassall, a stale catamite:
Whom he (upon our low, and suffering necks)
Hath rais'd, from excrement, to side the gods,
And have his proper sacrifice in Rome:

Which Jove beholds, and yet will sooner rive 150
A senselesse oke with thunder, then his trunck.

To them Laco, Pomponius, Minutius, [later] Terentius.

Lac. These letters make men doubtfull what
t'expect,

Whether his comming, or his death.

Pomponius.

Troth, both :

And which comes soonest, thanke the gods for.

(Arr.

List,

Their talke is Caesar, I would heare all voyces.) 155

[Arruntius and Lepidus stand aside.]

Minutius. One day, hee's well ; and will re-
turne to Rome :

The next day, sicke ; and knowes not when to
hope it.

Lac. True, and to day, one of Sejanus friends
Honour'd by speciall writ ; and on the morrow
Another punish'd —

Pom.

By more speciall writ. 160

Min. This man receives his praises of Sejanus,
A second, but slight mention ; a third, none :
A fourth, rebukes. And thus he leaves the Senate
Divided, and suspended, all uncertayne.

Lac. These forked tricks, I understand 'hem
not,

165

Would he would tell us whom he loves, or hates,
That we might follow, without feare, or doubt.

156 *Minutius.* FP assigns to *Mar.* (See below, l. 240.)

(*Arr.* Good Heliotrope! Is this your honest man?)

Let him be yours so still. He is my knave.)

Pom. I cannot tell, Sejanus still goes on, 170
And mounts, we see: New statues are advanc'd,
Fresh leaves of titles, large inscriptions read,
His fortune sworn by, himselfe new gone out
Caesars colleague, in the fifth Consulship,
More altars smoke to him, then all the gods: 175
What would wee more?

(*Arr.* That the deare smoke would
choke him,
That would I more.

Lep. Peace, good Arruntius.)

Lac. But there are letters come (they say)
ev'n now,
Which doe forbid that last.

Min. Doe you heare so?

Lac. Yes.

Pom. By Pollux, that's the worst.

(*Arr.* By Hercules, best.) 180

Min. I did not like the signe, when Regulus,
(Whom all we know no friend unto Sejanus)
Did, by Tiberius so precise command,
Succeed a fellow in the Consulship:
It boded somewhat.

177 *That would* . . . *Arruntius.* Q, FH, FP omit both half-lines; see note.

180 *Pollux* . . . *Hercules.* Q, FH, FP, G, Castor . . . *Pol-lux*; see note.

Pom. Not a mote. His partner, 185
 Fulcinius Trio, is his owne, and sure. *They whisper*
 Here comes Terentius. He can give *with Teren-*
 us more. *tius.*

Lep. I'le ne're beleeeve, but Caesar hath some
 sent
 Of bold Sejanus footing. These crosse points
 Of varying letters, and opposing Consuls, 190
 Mingling his honours, and his punishments,
 Fayning now ill, now well, raysing Sejanus,
 And then depressing him, (as now of late
 In all reports we have it) cannot be
 Emptie of practice: 'Tis Tiberius arte. 195
 For (having found his favorite growne too great,
 And, with his greatnesse, strong; that all the
 souldiers
 Are, with their leaders, made at his devotion;
 That almost all the Senate are his creatures,
 Or hold on him their maine dependances, 200
 Either for benefit, or hope, or feare;
 And that himselfe hath lost much of his owne,
 By parting unto him; and by th'increase
 Of his ranke lusts, and rages, quite disarm'd
 Himselfe of love, or other publique meanes, 205
 To dare an open contestation)
 His subtilty hath chose this doubling line,

186 *They . . . Terentius.* Q, FH, FP omit.

191 *Mingling.* Q, FH, FP, Mixing.

205 *other.* F2, F3, A, rather.

To hold him even in: not so to feare him,
As wholly put him out, and yet give checke
Unto his farder boldnesse. In meane time, 210
By his employments, makes him odious
Unto the staggering rout, whose aide (in fine)
He hopes to use, as sure, who (when they sway)
Beare downe, ore-turne all objects in their way.

Arr. You may be a Linceus, Lepidus: yet, I 215
See no such cause, but that a politique tyranne
(Who can so well disguise it) should have tane
A neerer way: fain'd honest, and come home
To cut his throte, by law.

Lep. I, but his feare
Would ne're be masqu'd, all-be his vices were. 220

Pom. His lordship then is still in grace?

Terentius. Assure you,
Never in more, either of grace, or power.

Pom. The gods are wise, and just.

(*Arr.* The fiends they are.
To suffer thee belie 'hem?)

Ter. I have here
His last, and present letters, where he writes him 225
The *Partner of his cares*, and *his Sejanus* —

Lac. But is that true, it 'tis prohibited,
To sacrifice unto him?

Ter. Some such thing
Caesar makes scruple of, but forbids it not;
No more then to himselfe: sayes, he could wish 230
It were forborne to all.

Lac. Is it no other ?

Ter. No other, on my trust. For your more
surety,

Here is that letter too.

(*Arr.* How easily,

Doe wretched men beleeve, what they would
have !

Lookes this like plot ?

Lep. Noble Arruntius, stay.) 235

Lac. He names him here without his titles.

(*Lep.* Note.

Arr. Yes, and come of your notable foole. I
will.)

Lac. No other, then Sejanus.

Pom. That's but haste

In him that writes. Here he gives large amends.

Min. And with his owne hand written ?

Pom. Yes.

Lac. Indeed ? 240

Ter. Beleeve it, gentlemen, Sejanus brest
Never receiv'd more full contentments in,
Then at this present.

Pom. Takes he well th'escape
Of young Caligula, with Macro ?

Ter. Faith,
At the first aire, it somewhat troubled him. 245

235 *plot.* F2, F3, A, a Plot.

240 *Min.* F, etc., assign to *Mar.* ; cf. l. 156 above. In that
case, however, the error was corrected in some of the copies of F;
in this case, not. *his.* W, C omit. 245 *troubled.* Q, mated.

(*Lep.* Observe you?

Arr. Nothing. Riddles. Till I see
Sejanus strooke, no sound thereof strikes me.)

Pom. I like it not. I muse h'would not at-
tempt

Somewhat against him in the Consul-ship,
Seeing the people 'ginne to favour him. 250

Ter. He doth repent it, now; but h'has em-
ploy'd

Pagonianus after him : and he holds
That correspondence, there, with all that are
Neere about Caesar, as no thought can passe
Without his knowledge, thence, in act to front
him. 255

Pom. I gratulate the newes.

Lac. But, how comes Macro
So in trust, and favour, with Caligula?

Pom. O sir, he ha's a wife; and the young
Prince

An appetite : he can looke up, and spie
Flies in the roofe, when there are fleas i'bed; 260
And hath a learned nose to'assure his sleepes.
Who, to be favour'd of the rising sunne,
Would not lend little of his waning moone?
'Tis the saf'st ambition. Noble Terentius.

Ter. The night growes fast upon us. At your
service. [*Exeunt.*] 265

CHORUS — *Of Musicians.*

260 *i'bed.* G, i'the bed.

ACT V.

[SCENE I. *An Apartment in Sejanus' House.*

Enter] *Sejanus.*

Sejanus. Swell, swell, my joyes: and faint not
to declare

Your selves, as ample, as your causes are.

I did not live, till now; this my first hower:

Wherein I see my thoughts reach'd by my
power.

But this, and gripe my wishes. Great, and high, 5

The world knowes only two, that's Rome, and I.

My rooffe receives me not; 'tis aire I tread:

And, at each step, I feele my'advanced head

Knocke out a starre in heav'n! Rear'd to this
height,

All my desires seeme modest, poore and sleight, 10

That did before sound impudent: 'Tis place,

Not bloud, discernes the noble, and the base.

Is there not something more, then to be Caesar?

Must we rest there? It yrkes, t'have come so far,

To be so neere a stay. Caligula, 15

Would thou stood'st stiffe, and many, in our
way.

Windes lose their strength, when they doe emptie
flie,

Un-met of woods or buildings ; great fires die
That want their matter to with-stand them ; so,
It is our grieve, and will be'our losse, to know 20
Our power shall want opposites ; unlesse
The gods, by mixing in the cause, would blesse
Our fortune, with their conquest. That were
worth

Sejanus strife ; durst fates but bring it forth.

[*Enter*] *Terentius*, [*to*] *Sejanus*.

Terentius. Safety, to great *Sejanus*.

Sej. Now, *Terentius* ? 25

Ter. Hears not my lord the wonder ?

Sej. Speake it, no.

Ter. I meete it violent in the peoples mouthes,
Who runne, in routs, to Pompey's theatre,
To view your statue : which, they say, sends forth
A smoke, as from a fornace, black, and dread-
full. 30

Sej. Some traytor hath put fire in : (you, goe
see.)

And let the head be taken off, to looke

What 'tis — [*Exit Servus*.]

Some slave hath practis'd an imposture,
To stirre the people. How now ? why returne
you ?

To them: [*re-enter Servus, with*] *Satrius*, [*and*] *Natta*.

Satrius. The head, my lord, already is tane
off, 35

To them. Q, FH, FP omit.

Or running of the cat, betwixt our legs, 55
As we set forth unto the capitoll,
Were prodigies.

Ter. I thinke them ominous!
And, would they had not hap'ned. As, to day,
The fate of some your servants! who, declining
Their way, not able, for the throng, to follow, 60
Slip't downe the Gemonies, and brake their
necks!

Besides, in taking your last augurie,
No prosperous bird appear'd, but croking ravens
Flag'd up and downe: and from the sacrifice
Flew to the prison, where they sate, all night, 65
Beating the aire with their obstreperous beakes!
I dare not counsell, but I could entreat
That great Sejanus would attempt the gods,
Once more, with sacrifice.

Sej. What excellent fooles
Religion makes of men? Beleeves Terentius, 70
(If these were dangers, as I shame to thinke
them)

The gods could change the certayne course of
fate?

Or, if they could, they would (now, in a mo-
ment)

For a beeves fat, or lesse, be brib'd t'invert
Those long decrees? Then thinke the gods,
like flies, 75

Are to be taken with the steame of flesh,
 Or bloud, diffus'd about their altars: thinke
 Their power as cheape, as I esteeme it small.
 Of all the throng, that fill th'Olympian hall,
 And (without pittie) lade poore Atlas back, 80
 I know not that one deity, but Fortune;
 To whom, I would throw up, in begging smoke,
 One grane of incense: or whose ear I'd buy
 With thus much oyle. Her, I, indeed, adore;
 And keepe her gratefull image in my house, 85
 Some-times belonging to a Romane king,
 But, now call'd mine, as by the better stile:
 To her, I care not, if (for satisfying
 Your scrupulous phant'sies) I goe offer. Bid
 Our priest prepare us honny, milke, and poppy, 90
 His masculine odours, and night-vestments: say,
 Our rites are instant, which perform'd, you'll see
 How vaine, and worthy laughter, your feares be.
 [Exeunt.]

[SCENE II. *Another Room in the Same.*

Enter Cotta, [*and*] Pomponius.

Cotta. Pomponius! whither in such speed?

Pomponius.

I goe

To give my lord Sejanus notice —

Cot.

What?

Pom. Of Macro.

Cot. Is he come ?

Pom. Entr'd but now

The house of Regulus.

Cot. The opposite Consul ?

Pom. Some halfe houre since.

Cot. And, by night too ! stay, sir ; 5
I'll beare you companie.

Pom. Along, then —

[*Exeunt.*]

[SCENE III. *A Room in Regulus's House.*

Enter Macro, Regulus, [*and Attendants,*
later] Laco.

Macro. Tis Caesars will, to have a frequent
Senate.

And therefore must your edict lay deepe mulct
On such, as shall be absent.

Regulus. So it doth.

Beare it my fellow Consul to adscribe.

Mac. And tell him it must early be proclaim'd ; 5
The place, Apollo's temple. [*Exit Attendant.*]

Reg. That's remembred.

Mac. And at what houre ?

Reg. Yes.

Mac. You doe forget
To send one for the Provost of the watch ?

Reg. I have not : here he comes.

Mac. Gracinus Laco,

You're a friend most welcome : by, and by, 10
 I'll speake with you. (You must procure this list
 Of the Prætorian cohorts, with the names
 Of the Centurions, and their Tribunes.

Reg. I.)

Mac. I bring you letters, and a health from
 Caesar —

Laco. Sir, both come well.

Mac. (And heare you, with your note, 15
 Which are the eminent men, and most of action.

Reg. That shall be done you too.)

The Consul goes out.

Mac. Most worthy Laco,
 Caesar salutes you. (Consul ! death, and furies !
 Gone now ?) the argument will please you, sir.
 (Hough ! Regulus ? The anger of the gods 20
 Follow his diligent legs, and over'take 'hem,
 In likenesse of the gout.) [*The Consul*] *Returns :*

O, good my lord,

We lackt you present ; I would pray you send
 Another to Fulcinus Trio, straight,
 To tell him, you will come, and speake with him: 25
 (The matter wee'le devise) to stay him, there,
 While I, with Laco, doe survey the watch.
 What are your strengths, Gracinus ?

[*The Consul*] *Goes out againe.*

Lac. Seven cohorts.

21 *his.* Q, G, your.

22 *good my.* W, C, G, my good.

Mac. You see, what Caesar writes : and (—
gone againe ?

H'has sure a veine of mercury in his feet) 30
Knew you, what store of the prætorian souldiers
Sejanus holds, about him, for his guard ?

Lac. I cannot the just number : but, I thinke,
Three centuries.

Mac. Three ? good.

Lac. At most, not foure.

Mac. And who be those Centurions ?

Lac. That the Consul 35
Can best deliver you.

Mac. (When h'is away :
Spight, on his nimble industrie.) Gracinus,
You find what place you hold, there, in the
trust

Of royall Caesar ?

Lac. I, and I am —

Mac. Sir,

The honours, there propos'd, are but beginnings 40
Of his great favours.

Lac. They are more —

Mac. I heard him

When he did studie, what to adde —

Lac. My life,

And all I hold —

31 *Knew.* W, C, G, know.

34 *centuries.* F3, A, Centurions. 35 *Centurions.* C, centuries.

Mac. You were his owne first choise ;
Which doth confirme as much, as you can
speake :

And will (if we succeed) make more — Your
guardes

45

Are seven cohorts, you say ?

Lac. Yes.

Mac. Those we must
Hold still in readinesse, and undischarg'd.

Lac. I understand so much. But how it
can —

Mac. Be done without suspition, you'll ob-
ject ?

Reg. What's that ? *Returnes.*

Lac. The keeping of the watch in armes, 50
When morning comes.

Mac. The Senate shall be met, and set
So early, in the temple, as all marke
Of that will be avoided.

Reg. If we need,
We have commission, to possesse the palace,
Enlarge prince Drusus, and make him our chiefe. 55

Mac. (That secret would have burn't his
reverend mouth,
Had he not spit it out, now :) by the gods,
You carry things too — let me borrow'a man,
Or two, to beare these — That of freeing Drusus,

Returnes. Q, FH omit.

53 will. G, shall.

Caesar projected as the last, and utmost ; 60.
Not else to be remembred.

Reg. Here are servants.

Mac. These to Arruntius, these to Lepidus,
This beare to Cotta, this to Latiaris.

If they demand you'of me: say, I have tane
Fresh horse, and am departed. [*Exeunt Servants.*]

You (my lord) 65

To your colleague, and be you sure, to hold him
With long narration, of the new fresh favours,
Meant to Sejanus, his great patron ; I,
With trusted Laco, here, are for the guards :
Then, to divide. For, night hath many eies, 70
Whereof, though most doe sleepe, yet some are
spies. [*Exeunt.*]

[SCENE IV. *A Sacellum (or Chapel) in Sejanus's House.*

Enter] *Præcones, Flamen, Ministri*, [*Tubicines, Tibicines,*] *Sejanus, Terentius, Satrius*, [*Natta,*] &c.

Præco. Be all profane farre hence ; Flie, flie
farre off:

Be absent farre. Farre hence be all profane.

Flamen. We have beene faultie, but *Tub[icines],*
repent us now, *Tib[icines]*
And bring pure hands, pure vestments, *sound while*
and pure minds. *the Flamen*
washeth.

Tub. . . . *washeth.* Q, FH insert *These* after *Tib.*

1. *Min.* Pure vessells.

2. *Min.* And pure offerings.

3. *Min.* Garlands pure. 5

Fla. Bestow your garlands: and (with reverence) place

The vervin on the altar.

Præ. Favour your tongues.

Fla. Great mother Fortune, Queene of humane state,

Rectresse of action, Arbitresse of fate,
To whom all sway, all power, all empire bowes, 10
Be present, and propitious to our vowes.

Præ. Favour it with your tongues.

Min. Be present, and propitious to our vowes.
Accept our offering, and be pleas'd, great goddesse.

While they sound againe, the Flamen takes of the bony, with his finger, & tast, then ministers to all the rest: so of the milk, in an earthen vessel, he deals about; which done, he sprinkleth, upon the altar, milke; then imposeth the bony, and kindleth his gummes, and after censing about the altar placeth his censer thereon, into which they put severall branches of poppy, and the musique ceasing, proceed.

5 1 *Min.* Q and F print *Min.*, not distinguishing here, or in l. 13, among the *Ministri*.

14 *Accept . . goddesse.* G, following Q, assigns this line to *Omnes*. Thus far F uses italics, except in l. 1 of Flamen; and bring, and, l. 4; and, l. 5; and second speech of Flamen.

While . . . proceed. F, by ll. 14-35.

Terentius. See, see, the image stirres !

Satrius. And turnes away ! 15

Natta. Fortune averts her face !

Fla. Avert, you gods,

The prodigie. Still ! still ! Some pious rite
We have neglected. Yet ! heav'n, be appeas'd.
And be all tokens false, or void, that speake
Thy present wrath.

Sejanus. Be thou dumbe, scrupulous priest : 20
And gather up thy selfe, with these thy wares,
Which I, in spight of thy blind mistris, or
Thy juggling mysterie, religion, throw
Thus, scorned on the earth. [*Overturns the altar.*]

Nay, hold thy looke
Averted, till I woo thee, turne againe ; 25
And thou shalt stand, to all posteritie,
Th'eternall game, and laughter, with thy neck
Writh'd to thy taile, like a ridiculous cat.
Avoid these fumes, these superstitious lights,
And all these coos'ning ceremonies : you, 30
Your pure, and spiced conscience.

[*Exeunt all but Sejanus, Terentius, Satrius,
and Natta.*]

I, the slave,
And mock of fooles, (scorne on my worthy
heade)
That have beene titled, and ador'd a god,

Yea, sacrific'd unto, my selfe, in Rome,
 No lesse then Jove : and I be brought, to doe 35
 A peevish gigglot rites ? Perhaps, the thought,
 And shame of that made Fortune turne her face,
 Knowing her selfe the lesser deitie,
 And but my servant. Bashfull queene, if so,
 Sejanus thankes thy modestie. Who's that? 40
 [*Enter*] Pomponius, [*to*] Sejanus, [*with*] Minutius, &c.

Pomponius. His fortune suffers, till he heares
 my newes :

I have waited here too long. Macro, my lord —
Sej. Speake lower, and with-draw.

[*Takes him aside.*]

Ter. Are these things true?

Minutius. Thousands are gazing at it, in the
 streets.

Sej. What's that?

Ter. Minutius tells us here, my lord, 45
 That, a new head being set upon your statue,
 A rope is since found wreath'd about it ! and,
 But now, a fierie meteor, in the forme
 Of a great ball, was seene to rowle along
 The troubled ayre, where yet it hangs, unper-
 fect, 50

The amazing wonder of the multitude !

Sej. No more. That Macro's come, is more
 then all !

Ter. Is Macro come?

Pom. I saw him.

Ter. Where? with whom?

Pom. With Regulus.

Sej. Terentius —

Ter. My lord?

Sej. Send for the Tribunes, we will straight
have up

55

More of the souldiers, for our guard.

[*Exit Terentius.*]

Minutius,

We pray you, goe for Cotta, Latiaris,

Trio the Consul, or what Senators

You know are sure, and ours. [*Exit Minutius.*]

You, my good Natta,

For Laco, Provost of the watch. [*Exit Natta.*]

Now, Satrius, 60

The time of prooffe comes on. Arme all our
servants,

And without tumult. [*Exit Satrius.*]

You, Pomponius,

Hold some good correspondence, with the Consul,

Attempt him, noble friend. [*Exit Pomponius.*]

These things begin

To looke like dangers, now, worthy my fates. 65

Fortune, I see thy worst: Let doubtfull states,

And things uncertaine hang upon thy will:

Me surest death shall render certaine still.

Yet, why is, now, my thought turn'd toward
death,

Whom fates have let goe on, so farre, in breath, 70
Uncheck'd, or unreprou'd? I, that did helpe
To fell the loftie Cedar of the world,
Germanicus; that, at one stroke, cut downe
Drusus, that upright Elme; wither'd his vine;
Laid Silius, and Sabinus, two strong Okes, 75
Flat on the earth; besides, those other shrubs,
Cordus, and Sosia, Claudia Pulchra,
Furnius, and Gallus, which I have grub'd up;
And since, have set my axe so strong, and deepe
Into the roote of spreading Agrippine; 80
Lopt off, and scatter'd her proud branches, Nero,
Drusus, and Caius too, although re-planted;
If you will, destinies, that, after all,
I faint, now, ere I touch my period;
You are but cruell: and I alreadie have done 85
Things great inough. All Rome hath beene my
slave;

The Senate sate an idle looker on,
And witnesse of my power; when I have blush'd,
More, to command, then it to suffer; all
The Fathers have sate readie, and prepar'd, 90
To give me empire, temples, or their throtes,
When I would aske 'hem; and (what crownes
the top)

Rome, Senate, people, all the world have seene
Jove, but my equall: Caesar, but my second.

77 *Claudia Pulchra.* F2-C, Claudia, Pulchra.

80 *Agrippine.* F2-C, Agrippina.

'Tis then your malice, fates, who (but your
 owne) 95
 Envy, and feare, t'have any power long knowne.
 [Exit.]

[SCENE V. *A Room in the Same.*]

Enter] *Terentius, Tribunes.*

Terentius. Stay here: I'le give his lordship,
 you are come.

[*Enter*] *Minutius, Cotta, Latiaris.*

Minutius. Marcus Terentius, pray you tell
 my lord,

Here's Cotta, and Latiaris. [Exit.]

Ter. Sir, I shall.

They confer their letters.

Cotta. My letter is the very same with yours;
 Onely requires mee to bee present there, 5
 And give my voyce, to strengthen his designe.

Latiaris. Names he not what it is?

Cot. No, nor to you.

Lat. 'Tis strange, and singular doubtfull!

Cot. So it is?

It may bee all is left to lord Sejanus.

To them [*enter*] *Natta, [and] Laco.*

Natta. Gentlemen, where's my lord?

I Tribune. Wee wait him here. 10

Cot. The Provost Laco? what's the newes?

8 *singular.* F3, A omit.

10 *I Tribune.* Q, F, Trib. only, here and in ll. 162-63.

Lat.

My lord —

To them [enter] Sejanus.

Sejanus. Now, my right deare, noble, and
trusted friends;

How much I am a captive to your kindnesse !
Most worthy Cotta, Latiaris ; Laco,
Your valiant hand ; and gentlemen, your loves. 15
I wish I could divide my selfe unto you ;
Or that it lay, within our narrow powers,
To satisfie for so enlarged bountie.
Gracinus, we must pray you, hold your guardes
Unquit, when morning comes. Saw you the Con-
sul ? 20

Min. Trio will presently be here, my lord.

Cot. They are but giving order for the edict,
To warne the Senate.

Sej. How ! the Senate ?

Lat. Yes.

This morning, in Apollo's temple.

Cot. We

Are charg'd, by letter, to be there, my lord. 25

Sej. By letter ? pray you let's see.

Lat. Knowes not his lordship !

Cot. It seemes so !

Sej. A Senate warn'd ? without my
knowledge ?

And on this sodaine ? Senators by letters
Required to be there ! who brought these ?

Cot.

Macro.

Sej. Mineemie ! And when ?*Cot.*

This mid-night.

Sej.

Time, 30

With ev'ry other circumstance, doth give
It hath some streine of engin in't ! How now ?

[*Enter*] *Satrius*, [*to*] *Sejanus*, &c.

Satrius. My lord, Sertorius Macro is without,
Alone, and prayes t'have private conference
In businesse, of high nature, with your lordship, 35
(He say's to me) and which regards you much.

Sej. Let him come here.*Sat.*

Better, my lord, with-draw,
You will betray what store, and strength of
friends

Are now about you ; which he comes to spie.

Sej. Is he not arm'd ?*Sat.*

Wee'll search him.

Sej.

No, but take, 40

And lead him to some roome, where you, con-
ceal'd,

May keepe a guard upon us. [*Exit Satrius.*]

Noble Laco,

You are our trust : and, till our owne cohorts
Can be brought up, your strengths must be our
guard.

Now, good Minutius, honour'd Latiaris, 45

He salutes them humbly.

Most worthy, and my most unwearied friends :
I returne instantly. [Exit.]

Lat. Most worthy lord !

Cot. His lordship is turn'd instant kind, me
thinks,

I have not observ'd it in him, heretofore.

Tri. 1. 'Tis true, and it becomes him nobly.

Min. I 50

Am rap't withall.

Tri. 2. By Mars, he has my lives,
(Were they a million) for this onely grace.

Laco. I, and to name a man !

Lat. As he did me !

Min. And me !

Lat. Who would not spend his life
and fortunes,

To purchase but the looke of such a lord ? 55

Lac. [*aside*]. He, that would nor be lords
foole, nor the worlds.

[*Curtain drawn, disclosing another room.*]

[*Enter*] *Sejanus, Macro, [and Satrius.]*

Sej. Macro ! most welcome, as most coveted
friend !

Let me enjoy my longings. When arriv'd you ?

51 *rap't.* W, C, G, wrapt.

56 *nor be.* A, not be. For scene-division see note on l. 56.

57 *as.* W, C, G, a.

Macro. About the noone of night.

Sej. Satrius, give leave.

[*Exit Satrius.*]

Mac. I have beene, since I came, with both
the Consuls,

60

On a particular designe from Caesar.

Sej. How fares it with our great, and royall
master?

Mac. Right plentifully well; as, with a prince,
That still holds out the great proportion
Of his large favours, where his judgement hath 65
Made once divine election: like the god,
That wants not, nor is wearied to bestow
Where merit meets his bountie, as it doth
In you, alreadie the most happy, and ere
The sunne shall climbe the south, most high
Sejanus.

70

Let not my lord be'amus'd. For, to this end
Was I by Caesar sent for, to the isle,
With speciall caution to conceale my journey;
And, thence, had my dispatch as privately
Againe to Rome; charg'd to come here by night; 75
And, onely to the Consuls, make narration
Of his great purpose: that the benefit
Might come more full, and striking, by how
much

It was lesse look'd for, or aspir'd by you,
Or least informed to the common thought.

80

Sej. What may this be? part of my selfe,
deare Macro!

If good, speake out: and share with your Sejanus.

Mac. If bad, I should for ever lothe my selfe,
To be the messenger to so good a lord.

I doe exceed m'instructions, to acquaint 85
Your lordship with thus much; but 'tis my venture

On your retentive wisdom: and, because
I would no jealous scruple should molest
Or racke your peace of thought. For, I assure
My noble lord, no Senator yet knowes 90
The businesse meant: though all, by severall
letters,

Are warned to be there, and give their voyces,
Onely to adde unto the state, and grace
Of what is purpos'd.

Sej. You take pleasure, Macro,
Like a coy wench, in torturing your lover. 95
What can be worth this suffering?

Mac. That which followes,
The tribuniciall dignitie, and power:
Both which Sejanus is to have this day
Confer'd upon him, and by publique Senate.

Sej. [*aside*]. Fortune, be mine againe; thou
hast satisfied 100
For thy suspected loyaltie.

Mac. My lord,

I have no longer time, the day approacheth,
And I must backe to Caesar.

Sej. Where's Caligula?

Mac. That I forgot to tell your lordship.

Why,

He lingers yonder, about Capreæ, 105
Disgrac'd; Tiberius hath not seene him yet :
He needs would thrust himselfe to goe with me,
Against my wish, or will, but I have quitted
His forward trouble, with as tardie note
As my neglect, or silence could afford him. 110
Your lordship cannot now command me ought,
Because, I take no knowledge that I saw you,
But I shall boast to live to serve your lordship :
And so take leave.

Sej. Honest, and worthy Macro,
Your love, and friendship. [*Exit Macro.*]

Who's there? Satrius, 115

Attend my honourable friend forth. O !
How vaine, and vile a passion is this feare ?
What base, uncomely things it makes men doe ?
Suspect their noblest friends, (as I did this)
Flatter poore enemies, intreat their servants, 120
Stoupe, court, and catch at the benevolence
Of creatures, unto whom (within this houre)
I would not have vouchsaf'd a quarter-looke,
Or piece of face? By you, that fooles call gods,
Hang all the skie with your prodigious signes, 125

110 afford him. Q, bestow.

Fill earth with monsters, drop the scorpion
downe,

Out of the zodiack, or the fiercer lyon,
Shake off the loos'ned globe from her long henge,
Rowle all the world in darkenesse, and let loose
Th'inraged windes to turne up groves and
townes;

130

When I doe feare againe, let me be strooke
With forked fire, and unpittied die :
Who feares, is worthy of calamitie.

[*The curtain is here closed, and the scene returns to
the former room.*]

To the rest [enter] Pomponius, Regulus, Trio.

Pomponius. Is not my lord here ?

Ter. Sir, he will be straight.

Cot. What newes, Fulcinius Trio ?

Trio. Good, good tidings. 135

(But, keepe it to your selfe) My lord Sejanus
Is to receive this day, in open Senate,
The tribuniciall dignitie.

Cot. Is't true ?

Tri. No wordes ; not to your thought : but,
sir, beleeve it.

Lat. What sayes the Consul ?

Cot. (Speake it not againe,) 140

He tells me, that to day my lord Sejanus —

(*Tri.* I must entreat you Cotta, on your
honour

Not to reveale it.

Cot. On my life, sir.)

Lat. Say.

Cot. Is to receive the tribuniciall power.

But, as you are an honourable man, 145

Let me conjure you, not to utter it :

For it is trusted to me, with that bond.

Lat. I am Harpocrates.

Ter. Can you assure it ?

Pom. The Consul told it me, but keepe it
close.

Min. Lord Latiaris, what's the newes ?

Lat. I'll tell you, 150

But you must sweare to keepe it secret —

To them [enter] Sejanus.

Sej. I knew the fates had on their distaffe
left

More of our thread, then so.

Regulus. Haile, great Sejanus.

Tri. Haile, the most honor'd.

Cot. Happy.

Lat. High Sejan'.

Sej. Doe you bring prodigies too ?

Tri. May all presage 155

Turne to those faire effects, whereof we bring

Your lordship newes.

Reg. May't please my lord with-draw.

Sej. Yes. (I will speake with you, anon.)

To some that stand by.

Ter. My lord,
What is your pleasure for the Tribunes ?

Sej. Why,
Let 'hem be thank't, and sent away.

Min. My lord — 160

Lac. Wilt please your lordship to command
me —

Sej. No.
You are troublesome.

Min. The mood is chang'd.

1 Tri. Not speake ?

2 Tri. Nor looke ?

Lac. I. He is wise, will make him friends
Of such, who never love, but for their ends.
[*Exeunt.*]

[SCENE VI. *A Space before the Temple of Apollo.*

Enter] *Arruntius*, [*and*] *Lepidus*, *divers other Senators*
passing by them.

Arruntius. I, goe, make haste ; take heed you
be not last

To tender your All Haile, in the wide hall
Of huge Sejanus : runne, a Lictors pace ;
Stay not to put your robes on ; but, away,
With the pale troubled ensignes of great friend-
ship

5

162-3 *1 Tri.* Not speake ? *2 Tri.* Nor looke ? A, W, C, G,
Tri. Not speak ? Nor look ?

Stamp't i' your face ! Now, Marcus Lepidus,
You still beleeeve your former augurie ?
Sejanus must goe downe-ward ? you perceive
His wane approching fast ?

Lepidus. Beleeeve me, Lucius,
I wonder at this rising !

Arr. I, and that we 10
Must give our suffrage to it ? you will say,
It is to make his fall more steepe, and grievous ?
It may be so. But thinke it, they that can
With idle wishes 'ssay to bring backe time :
In cases desperate, all hope is crime. 15
See, see ! what troupes of his officious friends
Flock to salute my lord ! and start before
My great, proud lord ! to get a lord-like nod !
Attend my lord, unto the Senate-house !
Bring back my lord ! like servile huishers, make 20
Way for my lord ! proclaime his idoll lord-ship,
More then ten cryers, or sixe noise of trumpets !
Make legs, kisse hands, and take a scatter'd haire
From my lords eminent shoulder ! See, Sanquin-
ius !

With his slow belly, and his dropsie ! looke, 25
What toyling haste he makes ! yet, here's an-
other,

Retarded with the gout, will be afore him !
Get thee liburnian porters, thou grosse foole,

To beare thy obsequious fatnesse, like thy peeres.
They are met ! The gout returnes, and his great
carriage.

30

*Lictors, Consuls, Sejanus, &c. passe over
the stage.*

Lictor. Give way, make place ; roome for the
Consul.

Sanquinius. Haile,

Haile, great Sejanus.

Haterius. Haile, my honor'd lord.

Arr. We shall be markt anon, for our not-
haile.

Lep. That is already done.

Arr. It is a note

Of upstart greatnesse, to observe, and watch
For these poore trifles, which the noble mind
Neglects, and scornes.

35

Lep. I, and they thinke themselves
Deepely dishonor'd, where they are omitted,
As if they were necessities, that helpt
To the perfection of their dignities :
And hate the men, that but refraine 'hem.

40

Arr. O !

There is a farder cause of hate. Their brests
Are guiltie, that we know their obscure springs,
And base beginnings : thence the anger growes.

On. Follow. [*Exeunt.*]

[SCENE VII. *Another Part of the Same.*

Enter Macro, [*and*] Laco.

Macro. When all are entred, shut the temple
doores ;

And bring your guardes up to the gate.

Laco. I will.

Mac. If you shall heare commotion in the
Senate,

Present your selfe : and charge on any man
Shall offer to come forth.

Lac. I am instructed.

5

[*Exeunt.*]

[SCENE VIII. *The Temple of Apollo.*] *The Senate.*

[*Enter*] *Haterius, Trio, Sanquinius, Cotta, Regulus,*
Sejanus, Pomponius, Latiaris, Lepidus, Arrun-
tius, [and divers other Senators ;] Præcones,
[*and*] *Lictores.*

Haterius. How well his lordship lookes to
day !

Trio. As if

He had beene borne, or made for this houres state.

Cotta. Your fellow Consul's come about, me
thinkes ?

Tri. I, he is wise.

Sanquinius. Sejanus trusts him well.

Tri. Sejanus is a noble, bounteous lord.

5

Hat. He is so, and most valiant.

Latiaris. And most wise.

1 Sen. Hee's every thing.

Lat. Worthy of all, and more
Then bountie can bestow.

Tri. This dignitie
Will make him worthy.

Pomponius. Above Caesar.

San. Tut,
Caesar is but the rector of an I'sle,
He of the empire. 10

Tri. Now he will have power
More to reward, then ever.

Cot. Let us looke
We be not slack in giving him our voyces.

Lat. Not I.

San. Nor I.

Cot. The readier we seeme
To propagate his honours, will more bind
His thought, to ours. 15

Hat. I thinke right, with your lordship.
It is the way to have us hold our places.

San. I, and get more.

Lat. More office, and more titles.

Pom. I will not lose the part, I hope to share
In these his fortunes, for my patrimonie. 20

7 *1 Sen.* Q, F, *Sen.* As in this and other scenes not distinguishing Senators, Senate, or a special Senator.

16 *thought.* F2, etc., thoughts.

Lat. See, how Arruntius sits, and Lepidus.

Tri. Let 'hem alone, they will be markt anon.

1 Sen. I'le doe with others.

2 Sen.

So will I.

3 Sen.

And I.

Men grow not in the state, but as they are planted
Warme in his favours.

Cot.

Noble Sejanus!

25

Hat. Honor'd Sejanus!

Lat.

Worthy, and great Sejanus!

Arruntius. Gods! how the sponges open,
and take in!

And shut againe! looke, looke! is not he blest
That gets a seate in eye-reach of him? more,
That comes in eare, or tongue-reach? ô, but
most,

30

Can claw his subtle elbow, or with a buzze
Fly-blow his eares.

Prætor.

Proclaime the Senates peace;
And give last summons by the edict.

Præco.

Silence:

In name of Caesar, and the Senate. Silence.

Memmius Regulus, and Fulcinius Trio, Consuls, 35
these present kalends of June, with the first light,
shall hold a senate, in the temple of Apollo Palatine,
all that are Fathers, and are registred Fathers, that

23 *So will I.* C assigns to *San.*

25 *in.* A, for.

34 *name.* F2, F3, A, the name.

*have right of entring the Senate, we warne, or command, you be frequently present, take knowledge the 40
 businesse is the common-wealths, whosoever is absent,
 his fine, or mulct, will be taken, his excuse will not
 be taken.*

Tri. Note, who are absent, and record their names.

Regulus. Fathers Conscript. May, what I am
 to utter, 45

Turne good, and happy, for the common-wealth.
 And thou Apollo, in whose holy house
 We here are met, inspire us all, with truth,
 And libertie of censure, to our thought.

The majestie of great Tiberius Caesar 50

Propounds to this grave Senate, the bestowing

Upon the man he loves, honour'd Sejanus,

The tribuniciall dignitie, and power ;

Here are his letters, signed with his signet :

What pleaseth now the Fathers to be done ? 55

Senators. Reade, reade 'hem, open, publicly,
 reade 'hem.

Cot. Caesar hath honour'd his owne greatnesse
 much,

In thinking of this act.

Tri. It was a thought

Happy, and worthy Caesar.

Lat. And the lord,

As worthy it, on whom it is directed ! 60

45, 46, 55. These conventional formulæ are in italics in F.

Hat. Most worthy!

San. Rome did never boast the vertue
That could give envie bounds, but his: Sejanus—

1 Sen. Honour'd, and noble!

2 Sen. Good, and great Sejanus!

Arr. O, most tame slaverie, and fierce flatterie!
The Epistle is read.

Præ. Silence.

Tiberius Cæsar to the Senate, Greeting.

If you, Conscript Fathers, with your children, bee in 65
health, it is abundantly well: wee with our friends
here, are so. The care of the common-wealth, how-
soever we are remoov'd in person, cannot be absent
to our thought; although, oftentimes, even to princes
most present, the truth of their owne affaires is hid: 70
then which, nothing fals out more miserable to a state,
or makes the art of governing more difficult. But
since it hath beene our ease-full happinesse to enjoy
both the aides, and industrie of so vigilant a Senate,
wee professe to have beene the more indulgent to our 75
pleasures, not as being carelesse of our office, but rather
secure of the necessitie. Neyther doe these common
rumors of many, and infamous libels, published against
our retirement, at all afflict us; being born more out
of mens ignorance, then their malice: and will, neg- 80
lected, finde their owne grave quickly; whereas too
sensibly acknowledg'd, it would make their obloquie

63 Good, and great Sejanus! C assigns to San.

*ours. Nor doe we desire their authors (though found)
bee censur'd, since in a free state (as ours) all men
ought to enjoy both their mindes, and tongues free.* 85

(Arr. The lapwing, the lapwing.)

*Yet, in things, which shall worthily, and more neere
concerne the majestie of a prince, we shall feare to
be so unnaturally cruell to our owne fame, as to neg-
lect them. True it is, Conscript Fathers, that wee* 90
*have rayسد Sejanus, from obscure, and almost un-
knowne gentry,*

(Senate. How ! how !)

*to the highest, and most conspicuous point of great-
nesse, and (wee hope) deservingly; yet, not without* 95
*danger: it being a most bold hazard in that sov'-
raigne, who, by his particular love to one, dares ad-
venture the hatred of all his other subjects.*

(Arr. This touches, the bloud turnes.)

But wee affie in your loves, and understandings, and 100
*doe no way suspect the merit of our Sejanus to make
our favours offensive to any.*

(Senate. O ! good, good.)

*Though we could have wished his zeale had runne
a calmer course against Agrippina, and our Neph-* 105
*ewes, howsoever the opennesse of their actions, de-
clared them delinquents; and, that he would have*

remembred, no innocence is so safe, but it rejoyceth to stand in the sight of mercie: The use of which in us, hee hath so quite taken away, toward them, by his 110
loyall furie, as now our clemencie would be thought but wearied crueltie, if we should offer to exercise it.

(*Arr. I thanke him, there I look'd for't. A good fox !*)

Some there bee, that would interpret this his publique severitie to bee particular ambition; and that, 115
under a pretext of service to us, hee doth but remoove his owne lets: alleadging the strengths he hath made to himselfe, by the Prætorian souldiers, by his faction in Court, and Senate, by the offices hee holdes himselfe, and conferres on others, his popularitie, and depend- 120
ents, his urging (and almost driving) us to this our unwilling retirement, and lastly his aspiring to be our sonne in-law.

(*Senators. This's strange!*

Arr. I shall anon beleeve your vultures, Marcus.) 125

Your wisdomes, Conscript Fathers, are able to examine, and censure these suggestions. But, were they left to our absolving voyce, we durst pronounce them, as we thinke them, most malicious.

(*Senators. O, he has restor'd all, list.*) 130

Yet, are they offer'd to bee averr'd, and on the lives

*of the informers. What wee should say, or rather what we should not say, Lords of the Senate, if this bee true, our gods, and goddesses confound us if we know! Only, we must thinke, we have plac'd our*¹³⁵
benefits ill: and conclude, that, in our choise, either we were wanting to the gods, or the gods to us.

The Senators shift their places.

(Arr. The place growes hot, they shift.)

*We have not beene covetous, Honourable Fathers, to change; neither is it now, any new lust that alters*¹⁴⁰
*our affection, or old lothing: but those needfull jealousies of state, that warne wiser princes, hourely, to provide their safetie; and doe teach them how learned a thing it is to beware of the humblest enemy; much more of those great ones, whom their owne employ'd*¹⁴⁵
favours have made fit for their feares.

(1 Sen. Away.

2 Sen. Sit farder.

Cot.

Let's remoove —

Arr. Gods! how the leaves drop off, this little winde!)

*We therefore desire, that the offices he holds, bee first seized by the Senate; and himselfe suspended from*¹⁵⁰
all exercise of place, or power —

(Senators. How!

¹⁴¹ *affection.* A, affections. ¹⁴³ *provide.* F2-C, provide for.

¹⁵² *(Senators.* None of the editions complete the parenthesis beginning thus. See l. 154, *tempest.*

San. [*thrusting by*]. By your leave.

Arr. Come, Porcpisce, (wher's Haterius ?
His gout keeps him most miserably constant.)
Your dancing shewes a tempest.)

Sejanus. Reade no more.

Reg. Lords of the Senate, hold your seates :
reade on.

155

Sej. These letters, they are forg'd.

Reg. A guard, sit still.

Laco enters with the guards.

Arr. There's change.

Reg. Bid silence, and reade forward.

Præ. Silence — and himselfe suspended from all
exercise of place, or power, but till due and mature
tryall be made of his innocency, which yet we can 160
faintly apprehend the necessitie, to doubt. If, Con-
script Fathers, to your more searching wisdomes,
there shall appeare farther cause (or of farder pro-
ceeding, either to seizure of lands, goods, or more —)
it is not our power that shall limit your authoritie, 165
or our favour, that must corrupt your justice: either
were dishonourable in you, and both uncharitable to
our selfe. We would willingly be present with your
counsails in this businesse, but the danger of so potent
a faction (if it should prove so) forbids our attempt- 170
ing it: except one of the Consuls would be intreated

157 There's. Q, G, Here's.

170 attempting. Q, attempt.

for our safetie, to undertake the guard of us home, then wee should most readily adventure. In the meane time, it shall not bee fit for us to importune so judicious a Senate, who know how much they hurt the 175 innocent, that spare the guiltie: and how gratefull a sacrifice, to the gods, is the life of an ingratefull person. We reflect not, in this, on Sejanus (notwithstanding, if you keepe an eye upon him—and there is Latiaris a Senator, and Pinnarius Natta, two of 180 his most trusted ministers, and so profest, whom we desire not to have apprênded) but as the necessitie of the cause exacts it.

Reg. A guard on Latiaris.

Arr.

O, the spie!

The reverend spie is caught, who pitties him? 185
Reward, sir, for your service: now, you ha'done
Your propertie, you see what use is made?

[*Exeunt Latiaris and Natta guarded.*]

Hang up the instrument.

Sej.

Give leave.

Laco.

Stand, stand,

He comes upon his death, that doth advance
An inch toward my point.

Sej.

Have we no friends here? 190

Arr. Hush't. Where now are all the hailes,
and acclamations?

182 *apprênded*. F3, etc., apprehended.

190 *friends*. Q, friend.

191 *Where now*. Begin new line in W, C, G.

[Enter] Macro, [to the] Senate.

Macro. Haile, to the Consuls, and this noble Senate.

Sej. [aside]. Is Macro here? O, thou art lost, Sejanus.

Mac. Sit still, and un-affrighted, reverend Fathers.

Macro, by Caesars grace, the new-made Provost, 195
And now possest of the prætorian bands,
An honour late belong'd to that proud man,
Bids you, be safe : and to your constant doome
Of his deservings, offers you the surety
Of all the souldiers, tribunes, and centurions, 200
Receiv'd in our command.

Reg. Sejanus, Sejanus,
Stand forth, Sejanus.

Sej. Am I call'd ?

Mac. I, thou,
Thou insolent monster, art bid stand.

Sej. Why, Macro,
It hath beene otherwise, betweene you, and I?
This court, that knowes us both, hath seene a
difference, 205

And can (if it be pleas'd to speake) confirme,
Whose insolence is most.

Mac. Come downe Typhæus,
If mine be most, loe, thus I make it more ;
Kicke up thy heeles in ayre, teare off thy robe,

Play with thy beard, and nostrills. Thus 'tis fit, ²¹⁰
(And no man take compassion of thy state)
To use th'ingratefull viper, tread his braines
Into the earth.

Reg. Forbeare.

Mac. If I could lose
All my humanitie now, 'twere well to torture
So meriting a traytor. Wherefore, Fathers, ²¹⁵
Sit you amaz'd, and silent? and not censure
This wretch, who in the houre he first rebell'd
'Gainst Caesars bountie, did condemne himselfe?
P'hlegra, the field, where all the sonnes of earth
Muster'd against the gods, did ne're acknowledge ²²⁰
So proud, and huge a monster.

Reg. Take him hence.
And all the gods guard Caesar.

Tri. Take him hence.

Hat. Hence.

Cot. To the dungeon with him.

San. He deserves it.

Sen. Crowne all our doores with bayes.

San. And let an oxe
With gilded hornes, and garlands, straight be led ²²⁵
Unto the capitoll.

Hat. And sacrific'd
To Jove, for Caesars safety.

Tri. All our gods
Be present still to Caesar.

Cot.

Phœbus.

San.

Mars.

Hat. Diana.

San.

Pallas.

Sen.

Juno, Mercurie,

All guard him.

Mac.

Forth, thou prodigie of men. 230

[*Exit Sejanus guarded.*]

Cot. Let all the traytors titles be defac'd.

Tri. His images, and statues be pull'd downe.

Hat. His chariot-wheeles be broken.

Arr.

And the legs

Of the poore horses, that deserved naught,

Let them be broken too.

Lep.

O, violent change, 235

And whirle of mens affections!

Arr.

Like, as both

Their bulkes and soules were bound on fortunes
wheele,

And must act onely with her motion!

[*Exeunt all but*] *Lepidus, Arruntius, [and
a few Senators.]*Lep. Who would depend upon the popular
ayre,

Or voyce of men, that have to day beheld 240

(That which if all the gods had fore-declar'd,

Would not have beene beleev'd) Sejanus fall?

He, that this morne rose proudly, as the sunne?

Themselves her spoile : and foolishly forget, 265
When shee doth flatter, that shee comes to prey.
Fortune, thou hadst no deitie, if men
Had wisdom : we have placed thee so high,
By fond beliefe in thy felicitie.

Senators. The gods guard Caesar. All the gods
guard Caesar. *Shout within.* 270

[*Re-enter*] *Macro, Regulus, [and] Senators.*

Mac. Now great Sejanus, you that aw'd the
state,

And sought to bring the nobles to your whip,
That would be Caesars tutor, and dispose
Of dignities, and offices ! that had
The publike head still bare to your designes, 275
And made the generall voyce to eccho yours !
That look'd for salutations, twelve score off,
And would have pyramid's, yea, temples rear'd
To your huge greatnesse ! now, you lie as flat,
As was your pride advanc'd.

Reg. Thanks, to the gods. 280

Senators. And praise to Macro, that hath saved
Rome.

Liberty, liberty, liberty. Lead on,
And praise to Macro, that hath saved Rome.

[*Exeunt all but*] *Arruntius, [and] Lepidus,*
[*enter*] *Terentius.*

Arr. I prophesie, out of this Senates flatterie,
That this new fellow, Macro, will become 285

A greater prodigie in Rome, then he
That now is falne.

Terentius. O you, whose minds are good,
And have not forc'd all mankind, from your
 brests ;

That yet have so much stock of vertue left,
To pittie guiltie states, when they are wretched : 290
Lend your soft eares to heare, and eyes to weepe
Deeds done by men, beyond the acts of furies.
The eager multitude, (who never yet
Knew why to love, or hate, but onely pleas'd
T'expresse their rage of power) no sooner heard 295
The murmure of Sejanus in decline,
But with that speed, and heate of appetite,
With which they greedily devoure the way
To some great sports, or a new theatre ;
They fill'd the capitoll, and Pompei's circke, 300
Where, like so many mastives, biting stones,
As if his statues now were sensitive
Of their wild furie ; first, they teare them downe :
Then fastning ropes, drag them along the streets,
Crying in scorne, this, this was that rich head 305
Was crown'd with garlands, and with odours,
 this

That was in Rome so reverenced. Now
The fornace, and the bellows shall too worke
The great Sejanus crack, and piece, by piece,

Drop i'the founders pit.

Lep. O, popular rage ! 310

Ter. The whilst, the Senate, at the temple of
Concord,

Make haste to meet againe, and thronging cry,
Let us condemne him, tread him downe in
water,

While he doth lie upon the banke; away :
Where some, more tardie, cry unto their bearers, 315
He will be censur'd ere we come, runne knaves,
And use that furious diligence, for feare
Their bond-men should informe against their
slacknesse,

And bring their quaking flesh unto the hooke :
The rout, they follow with confused voyce, 320
Crying, they're glad, say they could ne're abide
him ;

Enquire, what man he was ? what kind of face ?
What beard he had ? what nose ? what lips ?
protest,

They ever did presage h'would come to this :
They never thought him wise, nor valiant : Aske 325
After his garments, when he dies ? what death ?
And not a beast of all the herd demands,
What was his crime ? or, who were his accusers ?
Under what [p]rooffe, or testimonie, he fell ?

315 *Where.* W, C, G, While.

329 *prooffe.* Q, F, rooffe, with no evidence that a *p* has dropped out.

There came (sayes one) a huge, long, worded
letter 330

From Capreæ against him. Did there so?
O, they are satisfied, no more.

Lep. Alas!

They follow fortune, and hate men condemn'd,
Guiltie, or not.

Arr. But, had Sejanus thriv'd
In his designe, and prosperously opprest 335
The old Tiberius, then, in that same minute
These very raskals, that now rage like furies,
Would have proclaim'd Sejanus emperour.

Lep. But what hath follow'd?

Ter. Sentence, by the Senate;
To lose his head: which was no sooner off, 340
But that, and th'unfortunate trunke were seiz'd
By the rude multitude; who not content
With what the forward justice of the state,
Officiously had done, with violent rage
Have rent it limbe, from limbe. A thousand
heads, 345

A thousand hands, ten thousand tongues, and
voyces,

Employ'd at once in severall acts of malice!
Old men not staid with age, virgins with shame,
Late wives with losse of husbands, mothers of
children,

Losing all griefe in joy of his sad fall, 350
 Runne quite transported with their crueltie !
 These mounting at his head, these at his face,
 These digging out his eyes, those with his braine,
 Sprinkling themselves, their houses, and their
 friends ;

Others are met, have ravish'd thence an arme, 355
 And deale small pieces of the flesh for favours ;
 These with a thigh ; this hath cut off his hands ;
 And this his feet ; these fingers, and these toes ;
 That hath his liver ; he his heart : there wants
 Nothing but roome for wrath, and place for
 hatred ! 360

What cannot oft be done, is now ore-done.
 The whole, and all of what was great Sejanus,
 And next to Caesar did possesse the world,
 Now torne, and scatter'd, as he needs no grave,
 Each little dust covers a little part : 365
 So lyes he no where, and yet often buried !

Arruntius, Nuntius, Lepidus, Terentius.

Arr. More of Sejanus ?

Nuntius. Yes.

Lep. What can be added ?

We know him dead.

Nun. Then, there begin your pitty.
 There is inough behind, to melt ev'n Rome,

352 *mounting.* W, C, Minting.

353 *braine.* F2, etc., brains.

And Caesar into teares : (since never slave 370
 Could yet so highly offend, but tyrannie,
 In torturing him, would make him worth lament-
 ing.)

A sonne, and daughter, to the dead Sejanus,
 (Of whom there is not now so much remayning
 As would give fastning to the hang-mans hooke) 375
 Have they drawne forth for farder sacrifice ;
 Whose tendernesse of knowledge, unripe yeares,
 And childish silly innocence was such,
 As scarce would lend them feeling of their
 danger :

The girle so simple, as shee often askt, 380
 Where they would lead her ? for what cause they
 drag'd her ?

Cry'd, shee would doe no more. That shee could
 take

Warning with beating. And because our lawes
 Admit no virgin immature to die,
 The wittily, and strangely-cruell Macro, 385
 Deliver'd her to be deflowr'd, and spoil'd,
 By the rude lust of the licentious hang-man,
 Then, to be strangled with her harmelesse brother.

Lep. O, act, most worthy hell, and lasting
 night,

To hide it from the world !

Nun.

Their bodies throwne 390

Into the Gemonies, (I know not how,
Or by what accident return'd) the mother,
Th'expulsed Apicata, finds them there ;
Whom when shee saw lie spred on the degrees,
After a world of furie on her selfe, 395
Tearing her haire, defacing of her face,
Beating her brests, and wombe, kneeling amaz'd,
Crying to heaven, then to them ; at last,
Her drowned voyce gate up above her woes :
And with such black, and bitter execrations, 400
(As might affright the gods, and force the sunne
Runne back-ward to the east, nay, make the old
Deformed Chaos rise againe, t'ore-whelme
Them, us, and all the world) shee fills the aire ;
Upbraids the heavens with their partiall doomes, 405
Defies their tyrannous powers, and demands,
What shee, and those poore innocents have
transgress'd,
That they must suffer such a share in vengeance,
Whilst Livia, Lygdus, and Eudemus live,
Who, (as shee say's, and firmly vowes, to prove it 410
To Caesar, and the Senate) poyson'd Drusus ?

Lep. Confederates with her husband ?

Nun.

I.

Lep.

Strange act !

Arr. And strangely open'd : what say's now
my monster,

The multitude ? they reele now ? doe they not ?

Nun. Their gall is gone, and now they 'gin
to weepe 415

The mischief they have done.

Arr. I thanke 'hem, rogues !

Nun. Part are so stupide, or so flexible,
As they beleewe him innocent ; all grieve :
And some, whose hands yet reeke with his warme
bloud,
And gripe the part which they did teare of him, 420
Wish him collected, and created new.

Lep. How fortune plies her sports, when shee
begins
To practise 'hem ! pursues, continues, addes !
Confounds, with varying her empassion'd
moodes !

Arr. Do'st thou hope fortune to redeeme thy
crimes ? 425
To make amends, for thy ill placed favours,
With these strange punishments ? Forbeare, you
things,
That stand upon the pinnacles of state,
To boast your slippery height ; when you doe
fall,

You pash your selves in pieces, nere to rise, 430
And he that lends you pitty, is not wise.

Ter. Let this example moove th'insolent man,
Not to grow proud, and carelesse of the gods :

It is an odious wisdom, to blaspheme,
Much more to slighten, or denie their powers. 435
For whom the morning saw so great, and high,
Thus low, and little, 'fore the'even doth lie.

[*Exeunt.*]

THE END

This Tragædie was first
acted, in the yeere
1603.

By the Kings Majesties

SERVANTS.

The principall Tragædians were,

RIC. BURBADGE.	}	{	WILL. SHAKE-SPEARE.
AUG. PHILIPS.			IOH. HEMINGS.
WILL. SLY.			HEN. CONDEL.
IOH. LOWIN.			ALEX. COOKE

With the allowance of the Master of REVELLS.

Notes to Sesonius

IN these notes I have attempted to deal somewhat fully with the relation of Jonson to his sources. Much doubtless remains to be done, but what is here brought together, as supplementary to his own references, will be sufficient for an understanding of his methods. I have preferred to err on the side of inclusiveness, and perhaps the reader will feel that in more than one case it is worth a question whether Jonson had in mind the passage cited.

Jonson's own notes, omitted in F, are printed from Q, in which a system of letter reference is employed, here changed to a line system. In some instances Q does not make use of a letter, but merely places the reference opposite a line or lines; sometimes the source is vague or general in language, and sometimes Jonson threw references for a fairly long passage into a single note, while occasional references are unnecessarily repeated. Satisfactory correspondence of notes to text was thus difficult to secure.

To distinguish his notes from the editor's, they are placed in italics. It did not seem necessary to expand his abbreviations more than occasionally, but I add in brackets the chapter numbers where omitted. I have tried to avoid repeating information supplied in his notes, but without entire success. The principal editions used were those at hand: e. g., Claudian by Jeep, Seneca's tragedies by Leo, Juvenal by Friedlaender, Teubner texts of Tacitus, Suetonius, and Seneca's prose, Foster's translation of Dio Cassius, etc.

Special philological works of Jonson's own day have not been easily accessible, nor did it seem of the highest importance that his references to them should be examined; every reasonable demand is satisfied when necessary information is supplied from modern books. Most of his abbreviations of such titles, however, have been on first occurrence expanded sufficiently to enable his notes to be utilized without difficulty by any one curious in the matter. In one case (Rhodig., 133, 51) I have not been able to identify the work satisfactorily.

The Motto. Cunningham had a theory (see pp. 485 ff., vol.

111, of his 1875 ed. of Jonson) that the editors of F2 "had a copy of this particular play with a few corrections by the author." In support of this he alleges that "the motto began with *Nam hic*, and was altered to *Non hic* in the folio of 1640." But the motto begins *Non hic* in the copy of Q and the three copies of F seen. The other bits of evidence that he offers are similarly to be disposed of; they will be noticed in the appropriate places. Either Cunningham was very careless, or, what seems in some instances likely, he had a copy of F containing a number of still different readings.

Jonson translates this passage of Martial in the Prologue to *Every Man in his Humour*.

3. **Esme L. Aubigny.** "Esme, lord Aubigny, was younger brother of Lodovick Stuart, second duke of Lenox, and first and last duke of Richmond of his creation. He died in 1624, and was succeeded in the dukedom of Lenox by this same Esme, who had been created earl of March in 1619, and was grandfather of the duke of Richmond who figures in the memoirs of De Grammont, and who married *la belle* Stuart. Esme, lord Aubigny, was perhaps the best friend Jonson ever possessed, and gave him the shelter of his roof during five years. . . He died 30th July, 1624. It was in his house that Jonson wrote the translation of the *Ars Poetica*, and the commentary. . . ." Cunningham. See *Epigram* cxxvii, and *Forest*, No. xliii.

4, 6. **First, if it be objected.** Compare the following from Webster's preface to *The White Devil*, 1612: "If it be objected this is no true dramatic poem, I shall easily confess it; *non potes in nugis dicere plura meas ipse ego quam dixi*. Willingly, and not ignorantly, in this kind have I faulted: for, should a man present to such an auditory the most sententious tragedy that ever was written, observing all the critical laws, as height of style, and gravity of person, enrich it with the sententious Chorus, and, as it were, liven death in the passionate and weighty Nuntius; yet, after all this divine rapture, *O dura messorum ilia*, the breath that comes from the uncappable multitude is able to poison it; and, ere it be acted, let the author resolve to fix to every scene this of Horace,

Haec porcis hodie comedenda relinques."

Incidentally, the dedication to the *Duchess of Malfi* is like that to *Caesline*, and the preface to *The Devil's Law Case* might have

been written by Jonson himself. Cf. Spingarn's notes on Webster's preface to *The White Devil*, *Seventeenth Century Critical Essays*, I, 235 ff.

4, 19. **truth of Argument.** Cf. Chapman's dedication to the *Revenge of Bussy*: "And for the authentional truth of either person or action, who (worth the respecting) will expect it in a poem, whose subject is not truth, but things like truth? Poor envious souls they are that cavil at truth's want in these natural fictions; material instruction, elegant and sententious excitation to virtue, and deflection from her contrary, being the soul, limbs, and limit of an authentional tragedy." (See *Introduction*, p. xli) Jonson provides his notes as a defence against these "poor envious souls," but, unlike Chapman, admits the duty of adhering as far as possible to historical fact.

4, 27 ff. **least, in some nice nostrill.** Marston's preface, To the General Reader, to *Sophonisba*, printed 1606, though perhaps written before *Sejanus*, seems clearly an attack upon Jonson, though Gifford doubts the connection. "Know, that I have not laboured in this Poeme, to tye my selfe to relate any thing as an historian, but to inlarge every thing as a poet. To transcribe authors, quote authorities, and translate Latine prose Orations into English blank verse, hath, in this subject, been the least ayme of my studies."

5, 50. **so happy a Genius.** Shakspeare, Fletcher, Beaumont, Chapman, Middleton, as well as a certain Samuel Sheppard, have been thought of in this connection, but absolutely nothing is known about Jonson's coadjutor or about his share in the play.

Jonson was brought by the Earl of Northampton, "his mortal enemy," as he told Drummond, "before the Council for his *Sejanus*, and accused of Popery and treason." Nothing in the play as we have it seems to furnish grounds for such accusations, except perhaps to this extent: Jonson was a Roman Catholic from about 1598 to about 1610, and the conspiracy of *Sejanus* might be thought to recall too vividly the conspiracy of Essex. But it is not improbable that in this case, as in the case of *Eastward Hoe*, the grounds were found in that part of the play with which Jonson was not directly concerned. What he means, then, may be this: I am compelled to excise your portion of the play (and of course to fill up

the gaps), otherwise I lose my ears. In any case, there seems no reason for assuming, as some have done, that Jonson is here elaborately ironical.

5, 54. *Neque enim mihi cornea fibra est.* The quotation is from Persius, *Sat.* 1, 47. The quotation below, from Horace, *Epist.* 11, i, 181.

7, 21-4. *Nor is . . . Rare.* The sense is: I am not carrying the comparison too far, except that the worth of jewels is extrinsic ("in estimation meerey"), whereas that of your work is intrinsic. Cf. *The Distracted Emperor*, 1:

For Butye's like a stone of unknowne worthe,
The estimatyon makes it pretyous.

7, 25 ff. *Wherein Minerva had beene vanquished.* The allusion is to the contest in weaving between Arachne and Minerva, wherein the former was beaten, and as a punishment for daring to contend with the goddess, was turned into a spider, see Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, vi, 1-145. The "graphic thread" alludes to the interwoven pictures in Minerva's web. Arachne is again referred to, below, l. 136.

8, 50. *the sable Orgies of the Muses; that is, tragic writing.*

8, 53 ff. *But . . . Retiring.* The sense is: The first sign of love consists neither in the pleasure taken in the sight of the object, nor in the bold pursuit of it, but in retirement.

9, 61. *saith Aeschilus.* The reference is apparently to Clytemnestra's speech to Orestes, *Choephori*, 906 (Swanwick's translation): "For wives 'tis grievous to live spouseless, child."

9, 81 ff. *Though . . . fits.* The sense is: Though others, qualified with naturall skill, blanch coals, i. e., call black white, do thou speak truth.

10, 86. *the good Spartane King.* See Plutarch's *Life of Agesilaus*, where the latter compares himself in this way to the "Great King."

10, 89. *the great Stagerite.* I do not know where Aristotle (born at Stagira, 384 B. C., and hence called the Stagirite) says precisely this, but several times he says what is practically equivalent to it, e. g., *Nicomachean Ethics*, x, viii, 18. In the *Rhetoric*, too, 11, 23, he mentions "Iphicrates' argument that the most virtuous person is the noblest." (Welldon's translation.)

10, 97 ff. **such . . . soules**: i. e., your play is so vivid in style that your hearers at once become your spectators, and the lively sense of good and ill that the spectators have, is felt also by your readers. Chapman is evidently making a careful distinction between hearers, spectators, and readers. Does he mean to suggest that Jonson read the play aloud to his friends, or is he merely making an academic reference to the Roman custom of public readings?

10, 103-4. **Thespian Bowles** are bowls of the Muses, who had a temple near Thespieae, whence the adjective was occasionally applied to them. The particular bowl referred to is the *phiale*, a bowl or cup used chiefly for pouring libations and rarely possessing handles (Birch's *Ancient Pottery*, 383). In both this and the next line (Palladian cask = helmet of Pallas) Chapman means that Jonson's poetry combines pleasure and profit in the perusal.

10, 105 ff. **thyselve must Patronise**. Apparently the meaning is: You must be your own patron, and your reward must be to drink more of the Castilian spring, in searching out whose mysteries we poets have to weight our nets (the figure is suggested by the word "expiscation") with lead, since poets possess no gold.

10, 110. **Pierian Streames**. The Pierides were the Muses, hence "Pierian streams," streams sacred to the Muses: e. g., the "Castalian head," above, supposed to be a spring on Mt. Parnassus.

11, 113. **the great Cyrrhan Poet**: Apollo; the whole line is a translation of Juvenal, XIII, 79: "Cirrhæi spicula vatis."

11, 117. **as Sathan was**. As we see from Victorinus, *Commentary on Revelations*, xx, 1-3 (Translation of Ante-Nicene Fathers, 1905, VII, 358) and from St. Prosper (Maxima Bibl. Patrum, 1677, VIII, fol. 45, "De diabolo ligato et misso in abyssum"), John in that passage was sometimes held to refer to a binding of Satan for a thousand years in direct connection with the coming of Christ. This interpretation is apparently the past binding that Chapman had in mind. The accepted interpretation, of course, is that of a future binding, in connection with the end of the world. See *A Yorkshire Tragedy*, sc. x:

Now glides the devil from me,

: : : : : : : :

Bind him one thousand *more*, you blessed angels,
In that pit bottomless!

11, 119. **warme but**: am but warmed.

11, 127. **Earthy parts**. The old theory was that the universe was composed of four elements, earth, air, fire, and water, which entered in various proportions into the composition of all bodies. Chapman means that the earthy emanations of a flower held close render its odor impure; if the flower be held further away, these emanations fail. For "improve," see *Glossary*.

12, 135. **Our Phœbus**. The poets of the day frequently compared James I to Phœbus. Jonson himself does it in the dedication to *Cynthia's Revels*.

12, 140 ff. **His Chancelor . . . Suffolke**. The persons referred to are the following:

Chancellor, Sir Thomas Egerton, 1540?-1617. See Jonson's *Epigrams* No. 74, and *Underwoods*, 50, 51.

Treasurer, Thomas Sackville, 1536-1608, 1st Earl of Dorset and Baron Buckhurst, part author of *The Mirror for Magistrates*, and *Gorboduc*.

Northumberland, Henry Percy, 1564-1632, 9th earl

Worcester, Edward Somerset, 1553-1628, 4th earl.

Northampton, Henry Howard, Earl of Northampton, 1540-1614.

Devonshire, Charles Blount, 1563-1606, created earl July 21, 1604.

Salisbury, Robert Cecil, 1563?-1612, son of Lord Burghley, and secretary of state; see Jonson's *Epigrams*, Nos. 49, 63, 64.

Suffolk, Thomas Howard, 1561-1626, 1st earl. He did "fall by Fortune" when in 1618 he was accused of corruption and sentenced to a heavy fine.

12, 153 ff. **our Hearde, came not to drinke, but trouble The Muses waters**. An obscure passage. It is sufficiently evident that Suffolk on some occasion intervened to the assistance of, presumably, Chapman and Jonson. But on what occasion? Chapman, Jonson, and Marston got into trouble in 1604 for writing *Eastward Hoe*. Jonson, just when we do not know, was brought by Northampton "before the Council for his *Sejanus*, and accused of Popery and treason." Chapman and Jonson were again in difficulties in 1605 on account of an unknown play. I do not know which of these occasions Chapman had in mind.

Jonson praises Suffolk in *Epigram* 67, addressed to him, the date of which is uncertain; yet in *Conversations with Drummond*, xi, he says that he and Sir John Roe were "ushered" (Roe says "thrust") out from a mask by this same lord. The date of this occurrence, Christmas, 1604 (Cunningham), is earlier than that, apparently, of the composition of Chapman's poem.

13, 165. First binding savadge Lives. In allusion to the classical and Renaissance doctrine that poetry, in its origin partly to be identified with religion, was the earliest civilizing agency in the progress of mankind.

14, 10. Fames Brazen House. See the description of the House of Fame in Ovid, *Met.*, xii, 39 ff.; it is situated in the middle between heaven, earth, and sea; it is built all of brass, and Fame dwells upon the extreme top.

14, 11. Barathrum. The Greek *βάραθρον*, a pit, was used occasionally by the Latin poets as meaning the infernal regions.

14, 16. Georgius Chapmannus. George Chapman, c. 1559-1634, translator of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, continuator of Marlowe's unfinished *Hero and Leander*, and author of numerous tragedies, e. g., *Bussy d'Ambois*, 2 pts., *The Conspiracy of Byron*, 2 pts., and comedies, e. g., *The Gentleman Usher*, *Monsieur d'Olive*, was, of all Jonson's contemporaries, the nearest akin in character, learning, and genius. The present poems are very poor specimens of his powers, and exhibit perhaps more than his usual proneness to conceal genuinely poetic thought and feeling under irritating eccentricities and pedantries of expression. Jonson addresses a poem to Chapman, *Underw.* No. 20. The two poets appear to have been, as we should expect, close friends. Yet, strangely enough, there exists, attributed to Chapman, a long MS. fragment of an "Invective against Mr. Ben Jonson," certainly written in the style of its reputed author, and severely if not virulently satirical.

15, 15. Hugh Holland, died 1633, was the author of a sonnet printed in the Shakspeare Folio of 1623, and of many other bits of commendatory verse, as well as of more pretentious pieces.

17, 22. Th. R. may perhaps be Sir Thomas Roe (1581?-1644, knighted 1604-5), the ambassador. Jonson addresses two epigrams to him, Nos. 98, 99, and has other poems to other men of the name of Roe, presumably of the same family. It was in

company with a Sir John Roe that Jonson was "ushered" from a mask at Court by Suffolk.

18. **Johannes Marstonius**, 1576-1634, associated with Jonson and Chapman in the composition of *Eastward Hoe* (ed. Schelling, *Belles-Lettres Series*), is an interesting figure. He and Jonson had quarreled, and Jonson had bitterly satirized him in *The Poetaster*. A year or so later we find him assisting Jonson in the play mentioned above, and a year or so later still attacking him indirectly in the prologue and perhaps the epilogue to his own tragedy of *Sophonisba*, see above, note on 4, 27. His best known plays are *Antonio and Mellida*, 2 pts., and *The Malcontent*.

19, 4. **confluence**: the word seems to be used somewhat in the sense of "affluence," and may be said to mean, perhaps, "stock of acquired wealth and power."

19, 5-6. **Lightning comes behind the Thunder**. We have here one form of the conventional medieval doctrine of thunder and lightning. Thunder is the primary and dangerous element in the phenomenon, lightning the secondary and merely attendant; see Howell's *Instructions for Forreine Travell*, 1642, ed. Arber, 12: "It makes the effect oftentimes fore-run the cause, as we see the *Lightning*, before we *Heare* the *Thunder*, though thunder be first in Nature, being by the violent eruption it makes out of the Cloud, the cause of such fulgurations." And cf. *Extracts from Bartholomaeus Anglicus*, ed. Steele, 1893, 26.

The contrast between the cedar and the shrub and their respective hazards is a stock bit of moralizing, to which a rather close parallel may be found in Chalkhill's *Thealma and Clearchus*, 89 ff.

19, 15. **William Strachey**. Evidently the same as the author, fl. 1609-1618, of *A True Repertory of the wracke and redemption of Sir Th. Gates, Knight, upon and from the Islands of the Bermudas*, used by Shakspeare in *The Tempest*.

20, 11. **Where later . . . enweav'd**. So careful was Jonson to avoid anachronisms that it is not easy to discover undoubted references to contemporary matters in *Sejanus* (see, however, *Introduction*, p. lii, and the notes on 23, 41, and 125, 69). Yet it is easy to see how such interpretation could be made, and Jonson's comedy was constantly attacked on similar grounds.

The subject-matter of the play and its treatment appear to have

given it a kind of general application; when revived (with great alterations) as *The Favorite* in 1770, the purpose appears to have been political (Genest, x, 187; he classes it among plays not acted); and Hazlitt, speaking of *Sejanus* in his *Lectures on the Age of Elizabeth*, says: "I am half afraid to give any extracts, lest they should be tortured into an application to other times and characters than those referred to by the poet. . . . It only proves that the characters of prophet and poet are implied in each other; that he who describes human nature well once, describes it for good and all, as it was, is, and I begin to fear, will ever be."

21, 1. **Globes faire Ring.** The Globe, built in 1599 in Maiden Lane, Bankside, was the theatre in which Shakspeare was financially interested.

21, 5. **The Peoples beastly rage.** See *Dedication*, ll. 4 ff., and *In Sejanum*, ll. 14-16.

22, 19. **for the succession.** Cunningham, ed. 1875, says these words "are not in the folio 1616, but appear for the first time in the folio 1640." They are in the three copies of F that the editor has seen.

23, 39-41. **In one day . . . people.** Seneca, *De Tranquillitate Animi*, 11: "quo die illum senatus deduxerat, populus in frustra divisit."

23, 41. **people.** There follows in Q the passage printed in the textual notes. The allusion is probably to the Gunpowder Plot, as Whalley remarks, but may conceivably be to the affair of Essex, which bore less distant resemblance to Sejanus' conspiracy, and perhaps suggested the subject. The allusion to the Plot would mean that the play was published by Thorpe between November 5, 1605, and March 1, 1605-6, at least a year later than its entry in the Stationers' Register (November 2, 1604, for Blount).

Doubtless this addition was for the purpose of forestalling unfavorable criticism on the choice of subject, and the need for it had passed away by the time of the publication of the Folio. See note on 125, 69 ff.

25, 1. **Silius.** *De Caio Silio*, vid. Tacit. Lips. edit. 4°. Anna. Lib. 1, Pag. 11. [31] lib. 2, pag. 28. & 33. [6, 7, 25] *De Titio Sabino*. vid. Tac. lib. 4. pag. 79. [18, 19.]

25, 4 ff. **Wee are no good inginers.** The following

passage is especially characteristic of Jonson, for the flatterer and the parasite are constant subjects of his castigation; in his comedies they are stock figures, and even in *Timber* (pp. 35, 51) and in his minor poems they receive much attention. The second of the two passages in *Timber* contains much that closely parallels what is said by Silius a few lines below. Nothing more betrays Jonson's debt to classical literature than his handling of this topic, for which, of course, Juvenal and the other Roman satirists, though they by no means furnished all of the material, yet supplied the models.

25, 11. **By slaverie, not by service.** *Tac. Annal. lib. 1. pag. 2.* [2 : ceteri nobilium, quanto quis servitio promptior, opibus et honoribus extollerentur.]

26, 14. **We owe unto our crimes.** *Juvenal, Sat. 1. ver. 75.*

[criminibus debent hortos praetoria mensas
argentum vetus et stantem extra pocula caprum.]

26, 15. **We burne with no black secrets.** *Et Sat. 3. ver. 49. &c.*

[quis nunc diligitur nisi conscius et cui fervens
aestuat occultis animus semperque tacendis?
nil tibi se debere putat, nil conferet umquam,
participem qui te secreti fecit honesti:
carus erit Verri, qui Verrem tempore quo vult
accusare potest. tanti tibi non sit opaci
omnis harena Tagi quodque in mare volvitur aurum,
ut somno careas ponendaque praemia sumas
tristis et a mago semper timearis amico.]

See also 113: scire volunt secreta domus atque inde timeri.]

26, 20 ff. **But yonder leane A paire that doe.** The reader should note Jonson's frequent practice of describing a personage, as soon as he appears on the stage, through the mouth of some one already there. It is characteristic of his comic work also, and springs, as other commentators have observed, from his desire that the audience should be perfectly informed as to the various figures. So in *Catiline*, 1, i; 111, iii; Catiline himself is careful to give us in a phrase or two the special quality of each of his associates, and at the beginning of the play the ghost of Sylla elaborately expounds the

character of Catiline. The "sons of Ben" not infrequently imitated their master in this regard, as for example Beaumont in *The Woman-Hater*.

26, 21. **Latiaris.** *De Latiari, cons. Tac. Annal. lib. 4. pag. 94, [68, 69] & Dion. Step. edit. fol. lib. 58. pag. 711. [1.]*

26, 22. **Satrius.** *De Satrio Secundo, & Pinnario Natta, Leg Tacit. Annal. lib. 4. pag. 83. [34] et de Satrio cons. Senec. consol. ad Marciam. [22.]*

26, 28. **Flatter, and sweare.** *Vid. Sen. de Benef. lib. 3 cap. 26. [Given under 133, 57 ff.]*

26, 30-31. **cut Mens throates.** *Juv., iv, 110 :*

saevior illo

Pompeius tenui iugulos aperire susurro.

26, 31-2. **sell . . . The emptie smoake.** *Martial, iv, v, 7:*

Vendere nec vanos circum Palatia fumos.

27, 36. **watch.** One of the rare anachronisms in *Sejanus*. "The speaker alludes to the pocket-watch, which, in Jonson's days, was not so independent of correction as at present, but was constantly regulated by the motion of the clock, at that time the more accurate machine of the two." Gifford. Compare *Bartholomew Fair*, III, i: "*Hag*. Why, should the watch go by the clock, or the clock by the watch, I pray?"

27, 37. **true as turkise.** All the precious stones were thought in former times to have remarkable properties in the detection of poisons, preservation of the wearer's health, and the like beneficent activities. The particular superstition here alluded to is found more often in connection with the turquoise, and perhaps the opal, than with other stones, as is natural in view of the fact that under certain conditions these do actually lose their brightness and color. Parallels innumerable might be given, e. g., in Saintsbury's *Caroline Poets*, II, 161 :

And therefore, Cynthia, as a turquoise bought,
Or stol'n, or found, is virtueless, and nought,
It must be freely given by a friend,
Whose love and bounty doth such virtue lend,
As makes it to compassionate, and tell
By looking pale, the wearer is not well.

27, 38. Looke well, . . . catch. *Juvenal, Sat. 3. ver. 105.*

[non sumus ergo pares: melior, qui semper et omni nocte dieque potest aliena sumere vultum a facie, iactare manus, laudare paratus, si bene ructavit, si rectum minxit amicus, si trulla inverso crepitum dedit aurea fundo.]

27, 42. confer'd with other vile. *Vid. Tac. Ann. lib. 1. pag. 3. [2. See under 25, 11.]*

27, 46 ff. all our Consuls. *Tac. Annal. lib. 3. pag. 69. [65. Ceterum tempora illa adeo infecta et adulatione sordida fuere, ut non modo primores civitatis . . . sed omnes consulares, magna pars eorum qui praetura functi multique etiam pedarii senatores certatim exsurgerent foedaque et nimia censerent. Memoriae proditur Tiberium, quotiens curia egrederetur, Graecis verbis in hunc modum eloqui solitum: "O homines ad servitutem paratos!" Scilicet etiam illum, qui libertatem publicam nollet, tam proiectae servientium patientiae taedebat.]*

27, 48. Pedarii. These, according to *Harper's Dictionary*, were "those senators who had not yet been entered by the censors on the list or roll of senators, and who had no vote of their own, but could merely signify their assent to that of another." But Willems, *Le Sénat de la République Romaine*, 1, 137 ff., shows that this notion (the one that Jonson had in mind, for his meaning clearly is that senators who had no right to speak would violate the rules of the senate in order to flatter Tiberius) is incorrect. The *pedarii* were the mass of senators, who had never held curule magistracies, and hence had not the right to sit on curule chairs; such would, according to the procedure of the senate, speak rarely, since they would in the nature of things be rarely called upon by the presiding officer.

28, 51. Tiberius hath beene heard. *Ibid.* [See under 46 above.]

28, 60. triumphed world is probably from Ovid's "triumphati orbis," *Amores*, 1, 15, 26. Cf. *Catiline*, 111, 2:

And lay waste
The far triumphéd world.

28, 64. every ministring spie. *Leg. Tac. Ann., lib 1.*

pag. 24. [74] *de Romano Hispane, & caeteris. ibid. et lib. 3. Ann. pag. 61. & 62.* [apparently 36, 37] *Juven. Sat. 10. ver. 87.*

[sed videant servi, ne quis neget et pavidum in ius
cervice obstricta dominum trahat.]

Suet. Tib. cap. 61. [Decreta accusatoribus praecipua praemia, nonnumquam et testibus. Nemini delatorum fides abrogata. But this is said of Tiberius after the fall of Sejanus.]

The "ministering spies" were specifically known as *delatores*. Roman law recognized no official detective or police force, and offenders were brought before the proper authorities by private persons, who collected the requisite information and frequently acted as prosecutors. To stimulate their zeal, a portion of the property of convicted persons was bestowed upon them (see 99, 360), and even the strictest administration of justice with difficulty prevented this appeal to cupidity from nourishing a pernicious class of professional spies. Under Tiberius these delators played the part here assigned them (see also 71, 194 ff., 122, 1 ff.), and under the worst of the following emperors they became even more active.

28, 67. Our lookes are call'd to question. *Vid. Tac. Ann. 1. pag. 4.* [Apparently chs. 4-6 are meant; the reference is vague.] *& lib. 3. pa. 62* [38. . . addito maiestatis crimine, quod tum omnium accusationum complementum erat. See 135, 85, where the phrase is given to Arruntius.] *Suet. Tib. cap. 61.* [Omne crimen pro capitali receptum. . . .] *Senec. de Benef. lib. 3. cap. 26.* [See under 133, 57.]

Cf. Massinger, *Roman Actor*, 1, i :

Rust. Noble Lamia,
So dangerous the age is, and such bad acts
Are practised everywhere, we hardly sleep,
Nay, cannot dream with safety. All our actions
Are call'd in question; to be nobly born
Is now a crime; and to deserve too well,
Held capital treason.

28, 70. **Tyrannes.** Tyranne, or tyrant, is the regular Elizabethan form, from *tyrannus*; final *t* in tyrant is wholly excrescent, and appears by analogy with forms like *servant*, *ministrant*, as though from a (never-existing) original tyrans, tyrantis.

28, 73. **Cordus.** *De Cremutio Cordo* vid Tacit. *Annal. lib. 4. pag. 83.* 84. [34, 35, dramatized in latter part of iii, i] *Senec. consol. ad Marciam.* [1, 22, 25, 26] *Dio. lib. 57. pag. 710.* [24] *Suet. Aug. ca. 35. Tib. cap. 61. Cal. cap. 16.*

29, 78. and so downe to these. *Leg. Suet. Aug. ca. 35.* Cordus is here cited as authority for a statement about a senatorial reform instituted by Augustus.

29, 80. or Drusian? or Germanican? *Vid. de factio [nibus] Tac. Ann. lib. 2. pag. 39.* [43. Tacitus is writing of A.D. 17, before the death of Germanicus and with reference to the sending of Piso to Syria, see below under 33, 166. *Divisa namque et discors aula erat tacitis in Drusum aut Germanicum studiis. Tiberius ut proprium et sui sanguinis Drusum fovebat; Germanico alienatio patrum amorem apud ceteros auxerat, et quia claritudine materni generis anteibat, avum M. Antonium, avunculum Augustum ferens. Contra Druso proavus eques Romanus Pomponius Atticus dedecere Claudiorum imagines videbatur; et coniunx Germanici Agrippina fecunditate ac fama Liviam uxorem Drusi praecelebat. Sed fratres egregie concordēs et proximorum certaminibus inconcussi.]* & *lib. 4. pa. 79.* [17. Here we are told of the continuance of these feuds after the death of Germanicus; see below under 67, 96; 73, 231 ff.]

29, 86. **Arruntius.** *De Lu. Aruntio isto, vid. Tac. Ann. lib. 1. pag. 6.* [13] & *lib. 3. pag. 60, [31]* & *Dion. Rom. Hist. lib. 58.* [27]

30, 90. god-like Cato: probably a recollection of Horace's "sententia dia Catonis," *Sat. 1, 2, 32.*

30, 104. **Drusus.** *Legē de Druso Tac. Anna. lib. 1. pag. 9.* [14] *Suet. Tib. cap. 52.* [Filiū neque naturalem Drusum neque adoptivum Germanicum patria caritate dilexit [Tiberius], alterius vitii infensus Nam Drusus fluxioris remissiorisque vitae erat. Itaque ne mortuo quidem perinde adfectus est, sed tantum non statim a funere ad negotiorum consuetudinem rediit, iustitio longiore inhibito. See 83, 35 ff.] *Dio. Rom. hist. lib. 57. pag. 699.* [13, 14]

30, 106 **A riotous youth.** *Tacit. Ann. lib. 3. pag. 62.* [37. Et Considius Aequus et Caelius Cursor equites Romani, quod fictis maiestatis criminibus Magium Caecilium praetorem petivissent, auctore principe ac decreto senatus puniti. Utrumque in laudem

Drusi trahebatur : ab eo in urbi, inter coetus et sermones hominum obversante, secreta patris mitigari. Neque luxus in iuvene adeo displicebat: huc potius intenderet, diem aedificationibus, noctem convivii traheret, quam solus et nullis voluptatibus avocatus maestam vigilantiam et malas curas exerceret.]

31, 112. for opposing to Sejanus. *Vid. Tac. Ann. lib. 4. pag. 74. [7]*

31, 113. gracing his young kinsmen. *Ann. lib. 4. pag. 75. 76.* [8. Drusus had adopted the two sons of Germanicus, Nero and Drusus jr. See 84, 67 ff.]

31, 114. The sonnes of Prince Germanicus. *Nero. Drusus. Caius, qui in castris genitus, et Caligula nominatus. Tac. An. l. 1. [41] De Germanico. cons. Tac. Anna. lib. 1. pag. 14, [7] et Dion. Hist. Rom. l. 57. p. 694. [4, 5, 6]*

31, 121. Sabinus and my selfe. *Vid. Tac. Ann. lib. 4. pag. 79.* [18. In speaking of Sabinus and Silius, Tacitus says: "Amicitia Germanici perniciose utrique."]

31, 124-5. most like to virtue. Jonson is here quoting from Velleius Paterculus, II, 35, who says of Cato: "homo virtuti simillimus et per omnia ingenio diis quam hominibus propior."

32, 128 ff. He could so use his state. *Tac. An. l. 2. pag. 47. [72-3.* Indoluere exterae nationes regesque: tanta illi comitas in socios, mansuetudo in hostis; visuque et auditu iuxta venerabilis, cum magnitudinem et gravitatem summae fortunae retineret, invidiam et adrogantiam effugerat. Funus sine imaginibus et pompa per laudes ac memoriam virtutum eius celebre fuit. Et erant qui formam, aetatem, genus mortis ob propinquitatem etiam locorum, in quibus interiiit, magni Alexandri fati adaequarent. Nam utrumque corpore decoro, genere insigni, haud multum triginta annos egressum, suorum insidiis externas inter gentes occidissee: sed hunc mitem erga amicos, modicum voluptatum, uno matrimonio, certis liberis egisse, neque minus proeliatorem, etiam si temeritas afuerit praepeditusque sit percussas tot victoriis Germanias servitio premere.] *et Dion. his. Rom. lib. 57 pag. 705. [18]*

32, 132. images. "I have repeatedly been reminded of a custom of the ancient Romans, who placed in the niches of the *atrium* the painted masks of their ancestors and connected their portraits by means of the lines of the family tree. Those portraits were

regarded as the chief adornment of the home, and were never removed except on the occasion of a death in the family, when each of the masks was assumed by a living representative, who was robed in the semblance of the departed, and took his place in the funeral procession that ended at the Rostra in the Forum. There the 'ancestors' descended from their chariots, and seated themselves in their curule chairs, while the next of kin arose and rehearsed the names and deeds of the men enthroned around, and finally those of him who had been the last to die." Sandys, *History of Classical Scholarship*, 11, vii. As Germanicus died in Antioch (A. D. 19), this custom could not of course be fully carried out.

32, 150. Pompei's dignitie . . . Brutus. *Vide apud Vell. Patercul. lips.* [= ed. by Lipsius] 4^o. pag. 30. 33. 35. 47. *istorum hominum Caracteres*. [11, 29, Pompey is characterized by dignity and constancy; 11, 35, Cato, see under 31, 124; 11, 41, Caesar is spoken of as "vigore animi acerrimus"; 11, 72, the character of Brutus is given, but in general terms; wisdom and temperance are not specifically mentioned.]

33, 153-4. Which, parted . . . him. Claudian, *De Consul. Stilich.* 1, 34-5:

In te mixta fluunt, et quae diversa beatos
Efficiunt collecta tenes.

Cf. Ariosto, *Orlando Furioso*, xxxv, 9:

Quegli ornamenti che divisi in molti,
A molti basterian per tutti ornarli,
In suo ornamento avrà tutti raccolti
Costui, di c'hai voluto ch'io ti parli.

33, 158. and that they knew. *Vide Tac. lib. 2. Anna. pag. 28.* [5. Ceterum Tiberio haud ingratum accidit turbari res Orientis, ut ea specie Germanicum suetis legionibus abstraheret novisque provinciis impositum dolo simul et casibus obiectaret.] & pag. 34. [26. It treats of the recall of Germanicus from his command in Germany.] *Dio. Rom. hist. lib. 57. pag. 705. 706.* [18. It relates rumors concerning the death of Germanicus.]

33, 166. so was he. *Con. Tac. Ann. l. 2. p. 39* [43], *de occultis mandatis Pisoni, et postea pag 42. 43.* [55, 57. They relate

in detail the quarrel between Germanicus and Piso, which seems to have been largely over questions of jurisdiction.] 48. *Oratio Do. Celeris Est Tibi Augustae consciencia, est Caesaris favor, sed in occulto, &c.* [This speech of Domitius Celer, in which he advises Piso as to how he should conduct himself after the death of Germanicus, is in 77.] *Leg. Suet. Tib. cap. 52.* [Suetonius touches upon the hatred of Tiberius for Germanicus, and refers to the belief that Piso was guilty of the crime.] *Dio. p. 706.* [18]

Piso was tried before the Senate in A. D. 20, but committed suicide before conviction. There seems to have been no proof that he was guilty, or even that Germanicus was poisoned.

33, 173. **A fine poyson.** *Vid. Tac. Ann. l. 2. pag. 46 & 47* [69-73. They recount the death of Germanicus, and the suspicions attaching to Piso.] *lib. 3. p. 54.* [10-20. They deal with the trial of Piso. The reference is vague, but perhaps Jonson had in mind the phrase "conscientiae matris innexum est," suggesting that both Tiberius and his mother were implicated in the poisoning.] *et Suet. Calig. cap. 1. & 2.* [Suetonius repeats the accusations against Tiberius.]

33, 175. **Sejanus.** *De Sejano vid. Tacit. Annal. l. 1. pag. 9.* [24. In A. D. 14 he was already a person of some influence with Tiberius.] *l. 4. princip[io].* [1, 2. C. Asinio C. Antistio consulibus nonus Tiberio annus erat compositae rei publicae, florentis domus (nam Germanici mortem inter prospera ducebat), cum repente turbare fortuna coepit, saevire ipse aut saevientibus vires praebere. initium et causa penes Aelium Sejanum cohortibus praetoriis prefectum, cuius de potentia supra memoravi: nunc originem, mores, et quo facinore dominationem raptum ierit, expediam. genitus Vulsiniis patre Seio Strabone equite Romano, et prima iuventa Gaium Caesarem divi Augusti nepotem sectatus, non sine rumore Apicio diviti et prodigo stuprum veno dedisse, mox Tiberium variis artibus devinxit, adeo ut obscurum adversum alios sibi uni incautum in-tectumque efficeret, non tam sollertia (quippe isdem artibus victus est) quam deum ira in rem Romanam, cuius par exitio viguit ceciditque. corpus illi laborum tolerans, animus audax; sui obtegens, in alios criminatior; iuxta adulatio et superbia; palam compositus pudor, intus summa apiscendi libido, eiusque causa modo largitio et luxus, saepius industria et vigilantia, haud minus noxiae, quotiens parando regno finguntur.

Vim praefecturae modicam antea intendit, dispersas per urbem cohortes una in castra conducendo, ut simul imperia acciperent, numeroque et robore et visu inter se fiducia ipsis, in ceteros metus ore-retur. praetendebat lascivire militem diductum; si quid subitum ingruat, maiore auxilio pariter subveniri; et severius acturos, si vallum statuatur procul urbis inlecebris. ut perfecta sunt castra, inrepere paulatim militares animos adeundo, appellando; simul centuriones ac tribunos ipse deligere. neque senatorio ambitu abstinebat clientes suos honoribus aut provinciis ornandi, facili Tiberio atque ita prono, ut socium laborum non modo in sermonibus, sed apud patres et populum celebraret colique per theatra et fora effigies eius interque principia legionum sineret.] *et per tot[um] Suet. Tib. Dion. lib. 57. & 58. Plin. et Senec.*

34, 180. Eudemus. *De Eudemo isto, vid. Tac. Ann. lib. 4. pag. 74.* [3. Sumitur [Sejano] in conscientiam Eudemus, amicus et medicus Liviae, specie artis frequens secretus.]

34, 183. Fiftie sestertia. *Monetae nostrae 375. li. vide Budaeum, de Asse. lib. 2. pag. 64.* Budaeus, 1467-1540, was, says Sandys, "the first serious student of the Roman coinage." It is questionable, of course, how far it is possible for us to obtain an accurate knowledge of the real value of ancient coins. Money in the Elizabethan period is generally thought to have possessed six to eight times its present value.

35, 200-1. for the emptie circumstance. Gifford notes Juv. viii, 84:

Et propter vitam, vivendi perdere causam.

35, 202. Sejanus can repaire. *De ingenio, moribus, & potentia, Sejani. leg. Tac. Annal. lib. 4. pag. 74.* [See under 175 above.] *Dio. Hist. Rom. lib. 57. pag. 708. [21, 22.]*

36, 213. Caius. *Caius Caesar, divi Augusti nepos. cons. Tacit. Ann. lib. 4. pa. 74.* [See under 175 above.]

36, 214-5. He prostituted . . . Apicius. *Tac. ibid. & Dion. hist. Rom. lib. 57. pag. 706.* [19: "that Apicius who so far surpassed all mankind in voluptuous living that when he had once desired to learn how much he had already spent, and how much he still had, on finding that two hundred and fifty myriads were left him, became grief-stricken, feeling that he was destined to die of hunger, and took his own life."]

36, 217 ff. second face. *Juven. Sat. 10. vers. 63.* [Seianus, deinde ex facie toto orbe secunda] *Tacit. ibid. Dion. ibid.*

36, 222-3. all that heretofore, etc. Saegelken, *Ben Jonsons Römer-Dramen*, p. 39, compares *Juv. Sat. x, 78*:

nam qui dabat olim
imperium fasces legiones omnia, nunc se
continet atque duas tantum res animus optat,
panem et circenses.

36, 225. One, and his house. Tacitus in the *Histories*, 1, 37, has the phrase, "una illa domus," but Jonson seems rather here to have in mind Claudiam, *In Rufinum*, 1, 193-4:

Congestae cumulantur opes orbisque ruinas
Accipit una domus.

37, 234. Where, now, etc. *Tacit. ibid.* [See under 175 above.]

37, 235-6. to court the souldier, by his name. Perhaps Jonson made use here of Tacitus, *Hist. 1, 23*: "in itinere, in agmine, in stationibus vetustissimum quemque militum nomine vocans [Otho] ac memoria Neroniani comitatus contubernales appellando; alios adgnosceret, quosdam requirere et pecunia aut gratia iuvare."

This collective use of the singular "soldier" is common in Elizabethan verse, and probably is due to the similar use of the Latin *miles* as equivalent to soldiers or soldiery.

Cf. Massinger, *Emperor of the East*, v, i:

I never courted popular applause,
Feasted the men of action, or labour'd
By prodigal gifts to draw the needy soldier, etc.

Suetonius, *Tiberius*, 48, says that Tiberius gave certain gifts "praetorianis, quod Seiano se non accommodassent, et quaedam munera Syriacis legionibus, quod solae nullam Seiani imaginem inter signa coluissent."

37, 237-40. though he ne're were liberall by kind. *Ibid.* [see under 33, 175] *et Dion. ibid.* [57, 19]

37, 242 ff. Is there that step in state can make him higher? . . . Nothing but Emp'rour. Cf. Machiavelli,

Discorsi, III, vi: "Costoro [Perænnius, Plautianus, Sejanus] tutti furono dai loro imperadori costituiti in tanta ricchezza, onore e grado, che non pareva che mancasse loro alla perfezione della potenza altro che l'imperio; e di questo non volendo mancare, si messono a congiurare contro al principe."

37, 244-7. **The name Tiberius.** "The anachronic mixture in this Arruntius of the Roman republican, to whom Tiberius must have appeared as much a tyrant as Sejanus with his James-and-Charles-the-First zeal for legitimacy of descent in this passage, is amusing. Of our great names, Milton was, I think, the first who could properly be called a republican. My recollections of Buchanan's works are too faint to enable me to judge whether the historian is not a fair exception." Coleridge, *Works*, ed. Shedd, IV, 190.

37, 249. **they are three.** *Nero. Drusus. Caligula. Tacit. ibid.* [3. Ceterum plena Caesarum domus, iuvenis filius, nepotes adulti moram cupitis adferebant; et quia vi tot simul corripere intutum, dolus intervalla scelerum poscebat.] But the language of Jonson's line is suggested by *Ann.* IV, 12: "neque spargi venenum in tres poterat."

38, 5. **Your fortune's made.** *Leg. Terentii defensionem. Tac. Annal. li. 6. pag. 102.* [8. M. Terentius, defending himself on the charge of complicity in the conspiracy of Sejanus, said, "Illius [Sejani] propinqui et adfines honoribus augebantur; ut quisque Seiano intimus, ita ad Caesaris amicitiam validus: contra quibus infensus esset, metu ac sordibus conflictabantur."]

39, 19. **Livia.** *Germanici soror, uxor Drusi. Vid. Tac. Ann. lib. 4. pag. 74.* [3 . . . Liviam . . . quae soror Germanici, formae initio aetatis indecorae, mox pulchritudine praecelebat.]

40, 25. **feare no collours.** N. E. D. explains this idiom to mean fear no foe, "colours" having the sense it bears in "the regimental colours." Sejanus is evidently punning.

40, 31-2. **Augusta:** *Mater Tiberii* [and wife of Augustus] *vid. Tac. Annal. lib. 1. 2. 3. 4. moritur. 5. Suet. Tib. Dio Hist. Rom. lib. 57, 58.*

Urgulania: *Delicium Augustae. Tac. Ann. lib. 2. [34. In this she is tried for debt; and on another occasion, relying on her favor with Augusta, she refused to give testimony in court, so that commissioners had to be sent to her.] & 4. [21, 22]*

Mutilia Prisca : *Adultera Julii Postumi. Tacit. Ann. lib. 4. pag. 77. [12]*

Plancina : *Pisonis uxor. Tac. Ann. lib. 2. 3. & 4. [The wife of the Piso mentioned under 33, 166 ; she was suspected of complicity in the murder of Germanicus.]*

40, 40. the onely cabinets, in court. *Vid. Tac. Ann. lib. 4. pag. 74. [3. . . . Eudemus, amicus ac medicus Liviae, specie artis frequens secretis] & Plin. Nat. Hist. lib. 29. cap. 1.*

40, 47-50. Which . . . it. Almost verbatim, *Cynthia's Revels*, iv, 1.

41, 54. but : "Mr. Sympson conjectures that *pure* is the true reading." Whalley.

42, 80. love to Livia. *Cons. Tac. Ann. lib. 4. pag. 74. [3. Igitur [Seiano] cuncta temptanti promptissimum visum ad uxorem eius [Drusi] Liviam convertere. Tacitus does not say that Eudemus was the intermediary between Sejanus and Livia.]*

43, 90. Sejanus love. *Tac. ibid. [See under 42, 80.]*

43, 104-5. how ill she hath deserv'd. Lucan, *Pharsalia*, v, 581-3 :

quem numina numquam
destituunt, de quo male tum Fortuna meretur,
cum post vota venit.

Made use of also in *The Misfortunes of Arthur*, iv, 2.

44, 106 ff. Ambition makes. Compare **113, 27 ff.**, and the speech in *Catiline* at the end of **111, iii**, beginning :

What ministers men must for practice use,
The rash, the ambitious, needy, desperate.

44, 107. These fellows, by the favour of their arte. *Eud [emus] specie artis frequens secretis. Tacit. ibid. vid. Plin. Nat. Hist. lib. 29. cap. 1. in criminat[ione] Medicorum. [This note is a repetition of that on 40, 40.]*

44, 115. Wee not endure these flatteries. *De initio Tiberii Principatus vid. Tac. Ann. lib. 1. pag. 23. [72] lib. 4. pag. 75 [6. In both chapters Tacitus tells us that Tiberius began his principate with at least the pretense of republican sincerity and simplicity.] et Suet. Tib. cap. 27. [Adulationes adeo adversatus est, ut neminem senatorum aut officii aut negotii causa ad lecticam suam admiserit, consularem vero, satisfaciensem sibi ac per genua orare conantem, ita suffugerit ut caderet supinus; atque etiam, si quid in*

sermone vel in continua oratione blandius de se diceretur, non dubitaret interpellare ac reprehendere et commutare continuo.] *De Haterio* vid. *Tacit. Ann. lib. 1. pag. 6.* [13. Here we are told that Tiberius had an old grudge against him.]

We might compare *Julius Caesar*, III, i, 35:

Caes. [to Cimber, who kneels]. I must prevent thee, Cimber.
These couchings . . .

44, 116. **axes, rods**: that is, the fasces, each consisting of an axe, bound up with a bundle of rods; the fasces were borne before the higher Roman magistrates, as symbolizing their power over life and death.

44, 121-2. **O, what is it.** *Juv. Sat. IV, 70-71*:

nihil est quod credere de se
non possit cum laudatur dis aequa potestas.

Gifford.

45, 123. **He did not heare it.** It hardly seems consistent that Cordus should have defended Tiberius against the charge of hypocrisy and then immediately (l. 135) have advanced the same charge. I consequently suggest that l. 123 be assigned to Cor[ta]. But both Q and F are perfectly plain in assigning to Cor[dus].

45, 125-7. **'Tis your most courtly, knowne confederacy.** The sense is: It is the most refined sort of concerted trickery known to have your own (private) parasite redeem the reputation that you lose out of public subtlety. Sejanus by uttering 119, which the politic Tiberius pretended not to hear, made up for the loss which the latter sustained in refusing the flattery directly addressed to him by Haterius. Compare 150-4.

45, 129. **We must make up our eares, 'gainst these assaults.** *Cons. Tac. Anna. lib. 2. pag. 50.* [87: acerbeque increpuit eos, qui divinas occupationes ipsumque dominum dixerant.] *et Suet. Tib. cap. 27 & 29* [a) Dominus appellatus a quodam, denunciavit ne se amplius contumeliae causa nominaret. b) Atque haec eo notabiliora erant, quod ipse in appellandis venerandisque et singulis et universis prope excesserat humanitatis modum.]

45, 135. **Rarely dissembled.** *Nullam aequae Tiberius, ex virtutibus suis quam dissimulationem diligebat. Tac. Annal. lib. 4. pag. 95.* [71]

45, 136-7. **When power.** Compare Jonson's *Timb.*, ed. Schelling, p. 37, under *Mores Aulici*: "I have discovered that a

feigned familiarity in great ones is a note of certain usurpation on the less. For great and popular men feign themselves to be servants to others to make those slaves to them. So the fisher provides bait for the trout, roach, dace, etc., that they may be food to him."

46, 141-9. **Had but a minde.** See note on 125, 69 ff., and cf. Mart., xi, v, 5 ff.:

Si redeant veteres, ingentia nomina, patres,

Elysium liceat si vacuare nemus:

Te colet invictus pro libertate Camillus,

Aurum Fabricius, te tribuente, volet;

Te duce gaudebit Brutus.

46, 145. **The ghosts of those.** *Bruti, Cassii, Catonis, &c.*

46, 147-9. **Men are deceiv'd.** Gifford refers to Claud., *De Consul. Stilich.*, III, 113:

Fallitur, egregio quisquis sub principe credit

Servitium. Nunquam libertas gratior exstat

Quam sub rege pio.

46, 150. **his grace is meerely but lip-good.** *Vid. Dio. hist. Rom. lib. 57. de moribus Tiberii. p. 690.* [1, 2. These illustrate the dissimulation of Tiberius.]

46, 153. **strokes, and stripes . . . which within.** In allusion to the fact that sensualists sometimes employ physical pain as a stimulant to desire. The phraseology of the passage, though the thought is somewhat different, may possibly have been suggested by Tac., *Ann.* vi, 6: "neque frustra praestantissimus sapientiae firmare solitus est, si recludantur tyrannorum mentes, posse aspici laniatus et ictus, quando ut corpora verberibus, ita saevitia, libidine, malis consultis, animus dilaceretur." The classical poets occasionally referred to the lash as an incitement to love; see Reitzenstein, *Horaz und die Hellenistische Lyrik, Neue Jahrbücher für das Kl. Altertum*, xxi, 92. I owe this reference to Professor Prescott of the University of Chicago.

See a curious passage in Drayton's *Polyolbion*, XIII, 184:

This man, that is alone a King in his desire,
By no proud ignorant lord is basely over-aw'd,
Nor his false praise affects, who grossly being claw'd,
Stands like an itchy moyle.

And Webster, *The White Devil*:

Though it be very lechery unto thee,
Do't with a crabbed politician's face.

Heine, in *Die Romantische Schule*, Book 1, has an interesting parallel: "Oder etwa, wie greise Lüstlinge durch Rutenstreiche das erschlaffte Fleisch zu neuer Genussfähigkeit aufreizen: wollte das alternde Rom sich mönchisch geisseln lassen, um raffinierte Genüsse in der Qual selbst und die Wollust im Schmerze zu finden?"

47, 161. **Flattery is midwife.** *Tyrannis fere oritur ex nimia procerum adulatione, in principem. Arist[otelis] Pol[iticà] lib. 5. ca. 10. 11. et Delatorum auctoritate. Lege Tac. Dio. Suet. Tib. per totum. Sub quo decreta accusatoribus praecipua praemia. Vid. Suet. Tib. cap. 61 & Sen[ecae] Benef. lib. 3. cap. 16.* [Apparently this is a misprint for 26; 16 has nothing to do with the case, being concerned mainly with the frequency of divorce. For 26 see under 133, 57.]

47, 167. **Palace-rattes.** *Tineas, Soricesque Palatii vocat istos Sext. Aurel[ianus] Victor. [De Vita et Moribus Imp. Rom. xli, 10] et Tac. hist. li. 1. pag. 233 qui secretis criminationibus infamant ignarum, & quo incautior deciperetur, palam laudatum, &c. [64]*

47, 173-4. **It is not safe.** Perhaps a reminiscence of Hor., *Sat. II, i, 18-9*:

nisi dextro tempore, Flacci

verba per attentam non ibunt Caesaris aurem.

or Tac., *Hist.*, III, 56: "ita formati principis [Vitellii] auribus, ut aspere quae utilia, nec quicquam nisi iucundum et laesurum acciperet."

48, 181. **have instructed.** *Vid. Suet. Tib. ca. 29.* [Tiberius, addressing the senate, says that a prince, "quem vos tanta et tam libera potestate instruxistis, senatui servire debere et universis civibus saepe, et plerumque etiam singulis; neque id dixisse me paenitet, et bonos et aequos et faventes vos habui dominos et adhuc habeo."] *et Dio. hist. Rom. lib. 57. pa. 696. [7]* According to Whalley, Seward and Theobald wished to read "intrusted" for "instructed."

48, 194. **Yet, for the sute of Spaine.** *Tac. Ann. lib. 4. pag. 84. & 85. [37, 38.* The whole speech of Tiberius, from

this point to 243, is little else than a fairly close translation of these two chapters, which are perhaps too long to quote.]

48, 195 ff. **In honour of our mother, and our selfe.** The principles of Roman religion were consistent with a belief in the divinity of the emperor, who was often deified by a formal act of the Senate after his death, comparable in a measure to canonization (Boissier). With his consent, such deification might take place beforehand, and temples might be erected in Italy or the provinces to his worship. Important members of the royal family and powerful favorites might also be regarded as divine in essence; see 139, 175-9, 227-31; 155, 32-40; 158, 91, etc.

Such flattery was largely sincere, but a wide door was open for the grossest insincerity. Private persons often professed to regard the object of their attentions as a god, swore by his Fortune, and on occasion erected his image among their household deities. Men of the humblest social origin, if they acquired wealth and power, were thus flattered unofficially, even by nobles of the highest rank. The worship of Sejanus was of this unofficial character. (See Boissier, *La Religion Romaine*, I, 109 ff.; Friedlaender, I, 101-2, III, 545, and Arist., *Rhet.*, I, 5, who mentions sacrifices among "the elements of honour.")

49, 205. **all his deedes, and wordes observ'd.** A marked feature of Tiberius' policy was his careful observance of the deeds and words of Augustus. Augustus, moreover, left behind a "libellus" (Tac., *Ann.* I, 11), in which he was said to have laid down rules for the guidance of his successors, and there may be here an oblique reference to that document.

Cons. Strab[onem] lib. 6. de Tib. [ch. IV, 2: "and which his son Tiberius, who has succeeded him, still maintains, who takes his father for a pattern in his government and ordinances." Bohn's Lib. translation, I, 441.]

50, 243. **The Oracles are ceas'd.** "The poet with great judgment lays hold on the common opinion of the cessation of oracles about this time, and turns it to a very artful piece of flattery. The fact may be false, but the received notions of Jonson's age sufficiently justify the application." Whalley. Jonson's own belief was doubtless that of his friend, the great lawyer Selden, *Tabletalk*, xciv: "Oracles ceased presently after Christ, as soon as nobody believed

them. Just as we have no Fortune-tellers, nor Wise-men, when nobody cares for them. Sometime you have a Season for them, when People believe them, and neither of these, I conceive, wrought by the Devil."

50, 245. open : compare "quid apertius?" Juv., *Sat.* iv, 69. Whalley notes that Seward wished to omit the comma after "gone" and change "felt" to "fleet"!

50, 248. Antium : modern Porto d'Anzio, on the seacoast somewhat to the south of Rome.

the gift. Tac. [Ann.] lib. 3. pag. 71. [71. This gift was a statue of Fortuna Equestris given by the Equites Romani. The statue was not placed in Rome, because, though there were there many temples to Fortune, there was none to her as Fortuna Equestris.]

51, 249. Vow'd to the goddess. *Fortuna equestris. ibid.*

51, 251. grant to Lepidus. Tac. *ibid.* [72] "Grant" means permission. Marcus Lepidus asked, A. D. 22, permission of the Senate to restore, at his own expense, the Basilica Pauli, built by his grandfather, L. Aemilius Lepidus. The restoration of a public monument was a recognized way by which a Roman citizen might deserve well of his country.

51, 254. Their grace too. Tac. *Ann. lib. 3. pa. 70.* [69]

51, 255. Cithera : Jonson seems to have made a slight mistake. C. Silanus, convicted of plundering the province of Asia, A. D. 22, had been first sentenced to the island of Gyarus, one of the Cyclades, then, at the suit of his religious sister (a vestal virgin, "priscæ sanctimoniae virginem," Tac. *Ann.* 111, 69), transferred to Cythnus, another island of the same group. Cythera is situated at the foot of the Peloponnesus and has nothing to do with the Cyclades.

51, 256. his religious sister. *Torquata virgo vestalis, cujus memoriam servat marmor Romae. vid. Lip[sii] comment. in Tacit.* [111, 69.]

51, 258. decreed To our Sejanus. Tac. *Ann. lib. 3. pa. 71.* [72]

51, 260. Pompei's theatre : erected by Pompey on his return from the Pontic War. It was burned under Tiberius, A. D. 22, rebuilt under Caligula, and finally destroyed by the Visigoths.

51, 268. Blush not, Sejanus, thou great aide of Rome. Tacit. *Ann. lib. 4. pag. 74. 76.* [1, 2, 7]

52, 276 ff. Nor let them aske. See the speech of M. Terentius, defending himself in the Senate on the charge of complicity in the conspiracy of Sejanus, Tac., *Ann.*, vi, 8: "non est nostrum aestimare, quem supra ceteros et quibus de causis extollas: tibi summum rerum iudicium di dedere, nobis obsequii gloria relicta est." See, as well, *Timb.*, ed. Schelling, 40: "Let no man therefore murmur at the actions of the prince, who is placed so far above him. If he offend, he hath his discoverer. God hath a height beyond him."

52, 282. Pompei's theatre. *Vid. Sen[ecae] cons[olationem] ad Marc[iam] cap. 22.* [decernebatur illi statua in Pompeii theatro ponenda, quod exustum Caesar reficiebat. exclamavit Cordus tunc vere theatrum perire . . . non rumperetur supra cineres Cn. Pompeii constitui Seianum et in monumentis maximi imperatoris consecrari perfidum militem?]

52, 288. Is my father mad? *Tacit. Ann. lib. 4. pag. 74. 76.* [In 1 Tacitus says that Tiberius came under the control of Sejanus, not so much by the latter's skill, as by the wrath of the gods. In 7 he shows how complete was the control of Sejanus.]

52, 292. statues? titles? honours? *Tac. ibid.* [A number of the details in what follows come from a speech of Drusus in 7: "et quantum superesse, ut collega dicatur [Seianus]? primas dominandi spes in arduo: ubi sis ingressus, adesse studia et ministros . . . precandam post haec modestiam, ut contentus esset."]

53, 305. Take that. *Tac. sequimur, Ann. lib. 4. pag. 74. [3] quamquam apud Dionem, & Zonaram, aliter legitur.* [Dio, 57, 14; 57, 22. In 14, Dio says that Drusus was "so prone to anger that he inflicted blows upon a distinguished knight, and for this exploit he obtained the name of Castor." In 22, however, he says that Sejanus struck Drusus a blow with his fist, and then, fearing vengeance, plotted against him. Tacitus says that Drusus struck Sejanus in a chance quarrel. Zonaras is merely an abridger of Dio, and no authority.]

54, 311. on the crosse. *Servile (apud Romanos) et ignominiosissimum mortis genus erat supplicium crucis, ut ex Liv[i]o ipso Tac. Dio. & omnibus fere antiquis, praesertim historicis constet. vid. Plaut[um] in Mil[es Gloriosus] Amph[itrui] Aulu[laria] Horat. lib. 1. Ser. 3. [80-4] Petr[onius] in Satyrico & Juv. Sat. 6 Pone crucem servo, &c. [219]*

54, 315. **Castor.** *Sic Drusus ob violentiam cognominatus. vid. Dio. Hist. Rom. lib. 57. pag. 701.* [See under 305 above. Foster, in his translation of Dio, points out that this Castor was a famous gladiator of the time, and refers to Horace, *Epist.*, 1, 18, 19. But Jonson undoubtedly had the god in mind, not the gladiator.]

54, 316 ff. **He that.** From Seneca, *Medea*, 150 ff.:

Sile, obsecro, questusque secreto abditos
 manda dolori. gravia quisque vulnera
 patiente et aequo mutus animo pertulit,
 referre potuit: ira quae tegitur nocet;
 professa perdunt odia vindictae locum.

55, Act II. **Scene I.** A very fine criticism of this scene is to be found in Taine, *Histoire de la Littérature Anglaise*, 11, 3, but it is too long to quote here.

55, 5. **like:** the word bears here the meaning of equal, equivalent, and is an adjective, not a preposition; the punctuation is misleading.

55, 9. **potion.** *Vid. Tac. Ann. lib. 4. pag. 74. 76.* [3, 8]

55, 12. **Lygdus.** *Tac. ibid.*

56, 17. **free accesse, and trust.** Seneca, *Oedipus*, 686:

Aditum nocendi perfido praestat fides.

56, 24. **Send him to me.** *Spadonis animum stupro devinxit. Tac. ibid.* [1v, 10: is [Lygdus] aetate atque forma carus domino interque primores ministros erat.]

56, 31 ff. **I protest My selfe through rarefied.** Saegelen, 37, notes Jonson's fashion of sustaining a metaphor through a long passage; cf. 158, 72 ff. In *Timb.* 63-4, Jonson himself remarks: "Quintilian warns us, that in no kind of translation, or metaphor, or allegory, we make a turn from what we began; as if we fetch the original of our metaphor from sea and billows, we end not in flames and ashes: it is a most foul inconsequence." I think few mixed metaphors will be found in Jonson, at least where not demanded by characterization.

57, 36. **Bright, as the Moone.** Hor., *Odes*, 1, 12, 46-8:

micat inter omnes
 Iulium sidus velut inter ignes
 luna minores.

57, 42. **Agrippina's.** *Germanici uxor.*

58, 60 ff. **This same fucus.** Compare with this *The Devil is an Ass*, iv, i, where we have a discussion of various kinds of fucuses, or washes for the face. The topic was one of which Jonson was very fond, more especially as cosmetics were perhaps more freely used by both sexes in the 16th century than ever before. See the interesting note to III, ii, of *The Maid's Revenge*, in Dyce's edition of Shirley. "The frequent mention of *fucuses*, *cerusses*, and other cosmetics by our old dramatists, shews how much they were used in their times; that they were often composed of the most dangerous and deleterious ingredients is sufficiently proved by the numerous recipes for their composition to be found in the manuals compiled for the instruction of the housewives and ladies of fashion of those days: the following extract affords a tolerable specimen. '*Another mineral fucus for the face.* Incorporate with a wooden pestle, and in a wooden mortar, with great labour, *four ounces of sublimate*, and one ounce of *crude mercury*, at the least six or eight houres (you cannot bestow too much labour herein): then, with often change of cold water, by ablution in a glass, take away the salts from the sublimate: change your water twice every day at the least, and in seven or eight days (the more the better) it will be dulcified, and then it is prepared; lay it on with the oile of white poppy.' *Delights for Ladies to adorne their Persons, Tables, &c. &c.* by H. Platt, 1628."

58, 63. **ceruse.** *Cerussa (apud Romanos) inter fictitios colores erat, et quae solem ob calorem timebat. vid. Mar. lib. 2. Epig. 41:*

*Quam cretata timet Fabulla nimbum,
Cerussata timet Sabella solem.*

59, 85. **his wife.** *Ex qua tres liberos genuerat, ne pellici suspectaretur. Tac. Ann. lib. 4. pag. 74.* [3] Divorce, well-nigh unheard-of in the earlier republic, became extremely common in the later and in the empire. The husband had practically unlimited privileges in the matter, divorce as far as he was concerned being purely a question of his will and of his ability to return the dowry; but women also were given remarkable freedom.

59, 89. **discoverie Of all his counsels.** *Leg. Tac. Ann. Lib. 4. p. 76.* [7: et secreta quoque eius [Drusi] corrupta uxore probebantur.]

60, 108. so prepare the poyson. *Tac. ibid.* [8: igitur Seianus maturandum ratus deligit venenum, quo paulatim inrepente fortuitus morbus adsimilaretur.] *et Dion. Hist. Rom. lib. 57. pag. 709.* [22]

62, 134. choller: according to old notions of physiology, the choler, or bile, was one of the four primary humors, or bodily fluids; its predominance in the bodily constitution was supposed to be the cause of a passionate disposition, whence the word came also to mean anger. That is of course not quite the sense in which it is here employed.

62, 2. Ægyptian slaves. *Hi apud Romanos barbari, & vilissimi aestimab. Juven. Marti. &c.* [See Friedlaender, *Sitten-geschichte Roms*, 1, 225-234; 111, 609, 625. Perhaps some of the passages Jonson had in mind are the following: *Mart.*, x, 76; x11, 57. *Juv.*, 1, 26, 130; 1v, 24. *Tac., Hist.*, v, 4, 5, 8.]

62, 12 ff. Adultery? it is the lightest ill. On our modern stage lines like these would be possible only in the crudest melodrama, but in the Elizabethan period it was almost a stage convention that the villain should gloat over his crimes, whether past or to come, in much this fashion. Catiline does the like, 111, iii, *ad fin.*:

The cruelty I mean to act, I wish
Should be call'd mine, and tarry in my name;
Whilst after-ages do toil out themselves
In thinking for the like, but do it less:
And were the power of all the fiends let loose,
With fate to boot, it should be still example,
When, what the Gaul or Moor could not effect,
Nor emulous Carthage, with their length of spight,
Shall be the work of one, and that MY night.

Compare Barabas in *The Jew of Malta*, 11; *Richard III.*, 1, i, 14-40; *Revenger's Tragedy*, 1, ii, end of scene; Aaron in *Titus Andronicus*; for the Restoration period, see Chase, *English Heroic Play*, pp. 67, 70. The influence of Seneca is partly responsible for the practice, see *Med.*, 893 ff., and it is to be noted that Jonson is after all in this passage merely expanding a hint given by that writer; see below. Coleridge was shocked by this speech, which he calls "absurd rant and ventriloquism." *Works*, 1v, 190.

63, 15 ff. **which no posterity.** Sen., *Thyestes*, 192 :

Age, anime, fac quod nulla posteritas probet,

Sed nulla taceat: aliquod audendum est nefas

Atrox, cruentum; tale quod frater meus

Suum esse malit [mallet in Leo's text]. Whalley.

Cunliffe, in his *Influence of Seneca on the Elizabethan Drama*, notes that ll. 25-7, 44-7, of the same play are also utilized by Jonson. The thought of 15-6 is not uncommon: Seneca uses it again in *Med.*, 423-4, and it occurs several times in the second act of Fulke Greville's *Alaham*, as well as in *The Misfortunes of Arthur*, 1, i. Lines 17-18 are paralleled in *Cat.*, 1, i:

Whilst what you do may strike them into fears,

Or make them grieve, and wish your mischief theirs.

And again in the same act of *Alaham*; see also 1, ii, of *The Misfortunes of Arthur*.

63, 22-4. **Tell proud Jove.** Compare 145, 22-3; 155, 25 ff.; 159, 94-5; 166, 124 ff. These passages are not as absurd as they at first seem to a modern ear, see note on 48, 195 ff. If we wish, we may adopt the prosaic explanation that Sejanus, not believing in the gods, felt himself at liberty to say what he chose about them. But antiquity, which took seriously the legend of Salomoneus, would have seen nothing ridiculous, however horrifying, in such boasts. One might note in passing that not the least interesting part of Marlowe's *Tamburlaine* is that in which the hero first realizes that Death is his superior. Moreover, a belief in one's star needs only a confusion of ideas to be converted into a belief in equivalence with the divine.

Such passages appear in Restoration tragedy also (Chase, u. s., 173), but there one can hardly accept them as anything but clap-trap.

63, 24. **'Twas onely feare.** *Idem* & *Petro. Arbitr. Satyricon*. See Fragment xxvii in Buecheler's edition, p. 114, *primos in orbe deos fecit timor* & *Statius*, [*Thebais*] *lib.* 3. [661, where the same words occur.]

63, 27. **Sit downe, my comfort.** *De hac consultatione. vid. Suet. Tib. cap. 55.* [The reference is misleading. Suetonius says nothing about any particular interview, but merely that in addition

to his old friends Tiberius selected as counselors twenty of the principal men, of whom hardly two or three came safely through his reign; of those who fell, Sejanus made the most noise. Perhaps Jonson had in mind Suetonius' comment, that Tiberius selected Sejanus as counselor "non tam benivolentia . . . quam ut esset cuius ministerio ac fraudibus liberos Germanici circumveniret, nepotemque suum ex Druso filio naturalem ad successionem imperii confirmaret."]

63, 32 ff. **That nature.** Cf. Sen., *Thyest.*, 214 ff.:

Atr. Ubicumque tantum honesta dominanti licent,
precario regnatur. *Sat.* Ubi non est pudor
nec cura iuris sanctitas pietas fides,
instabile regnum est. *Atr.* Sanctitas pietas fides
privata bona sunt.

64, 34-5. **The rest of poore respects.** Compare Mach., *Il Principe*, cap. xv: "Ed ancora non si curi d'incorrere nell' infamia di quelli vizi, senza i quali possa difficilmente salvare lo stato: perchè, se si considera ben tutto, si troverà qualche cosa che parrà virtù, e seguendola sarebbe la rovina sua; e qualcun' altra che parrà vizio, e seguendola ne resulta la sicurtà, ed il ben essere suo."

A glance at the sources utilized by Jonson in this scene well illustrates the statement some one has made that Machiavelli was by no means the inventor of "Machiavellianism." See, for example, Arist., *Politics*, v, 11, to which Jonson elsewhere refers, and compare Boissier's remarks, *Tacite*, 182-3, on the Renaissance use of Tacitus as a political manual.

64, 36-7 **Whom hatred frights.** Sen., *Phoenissae*, 654 ff.:

Regnare non vult esse qui invisus timet.
simul ista mundi conditor posuit deus,
odium atque regnum: regis hoc magni reor,
odia ipsa premere. multa dominantem vetat
amor suorum; plus in iratos licet.
qui vult amari, languida regnat manu.

Note the rhymes; it was customary to set off "sentences," that is, pithy general statements having a moral or philosophical bearing, in this way, though sometimes, as in 47, 161 ff., quotation marks are employed.

See Beaumont and Fletcher, *Prophetess*, v, ii:

Nearness of blood,
Respect of piety, and thankfulness,
And all the holy dreams of virtuous fools,
Must vanish into nothing, when Ambition
(The maker of great minds, and nurse of honour)
Puts in for empire.

64, 40-47. The prince, who shames. Sen., *Hercules Furens*, 352-3:

invidia factum ac sermo popularis premet?
ars prima regni est posse invidiam pati.

Luc., *Phars.*, viii, 489 ff.:

sceptrorum uis tota perit, si pendere iusta
incipit: euertitque arces respectus honesti.
libertas scelerum est quae regna invisa tuetur,
sublatusque modus gladiis. facere omnia saeue
non impune licet, nisi cum facis. exeat aula
qui uult esse pius. uirtus et summa potestas
non coeunt: semper metuet quem saeua pudebunt.

It is also worth while noting Seneca, *ibid.*, 342-4, 400 ff., and Beaumont and Fletcher, *False One*, I, i:

All the power,
Prerogative and greatness of a prince
Is lost, if he descend once but to steer
His course, as what's right guides him. Let him leave
The sceptre, that strives only to be good,
Since kingdoms are maintained by force and blood.

Likewise a speech of Mordred in I, 4, of *The Misfortunes of Arthur*.

64, 48-9. Yet so, we may doe all things cruelly, not safely. Compare Jonson's fragment, *The Fall of Mortimer*:

But I, who am no common-council-man,
Knew injuries of that dark nature done,
Were to be thoroughly done, and not be left
To fear of a revenge; they are light offences
Which admit that: the great ones get above it;

where there is a striking resemblance to Mach., *Il Principe*, cap. III:

“Perchè si ha a notare, che gli uomini si debbono o vezzeggiare o

spegnere ; perchè si vendicano delle leggieri offese ; delle gravi non possono : sicchè l'offesa che si fa all'uomo, deve essere in modo che la non tema la vendetta."

65, 52. Agrippina. *De Agrip. vid. Dio. Hist. Rom. lib. 57. pag. 694. [6]*

65, 53. Proud ? dangerous, Cæsar. *De Sejani consil [io] in Agrip[pinam] leg. Tacit. Ann. lib. 1. pag. 23. [69. Agrippina had irritated Tiberius by being instrumental in the suppression of a mutiny, and Sejanus seizes the opportunity to increase the ill-feeling of the emperor.] & lib. 4. pag. 77. [12: igitur contumaciam eius insectari, vetus Augustae odium, recentem Liviae conscientiam exagitare, ut superbam fecunditate [see 88], subnixam popularibus studiis inhiare dominationi [see 221] apud Cæsarem arguerent.] 79. [17, 18] de Tib. susp[icionibus] lib 3. pa. 52. [4: nihil tamen Tiberium magis penetravit quam studia hominum accensa in Agrippinam, cum decus patriae, solum Augusti sanguinem, unicum antiquitatis specimen appellarent versique ad caelum ac deos integram illi subolem ac superstitem iniquorum precarentur. See ll. 80 ff.]*

65, 54-5. Germanicus Lives . . . t' upbraide us. *Gnaris omnibus laetam Tiberio Germanici mortem male dissimulari. Tac. lib. 3. ibid. [2] Huc confer Taciti narrat[ionem] de morte Pisonis. pag. 55. [15] & lib. 4. pag. 74. [1] Germanici mortem inter prospera ducebat.*

65, 60. It is not safe. Cf. Arist., *Rhet.*, 1, 15: "If one is advocating the slaughter of the children whose parents have been already slain, one can appeal to . . . another proverb, 'Fool he who slays the sire and spares the son.' " (Welldon's translation.) Machiavelli, in his chapter on Conspiracies in *Discorsi*, book III, elaborates the principle involved.

65, 68-9. none swiftlier are opprest. See Vell. Pater., II, cxviii: "Arminius . . . haud imprudenter speculatus neminem celerius opprimi quam qui nihil timeret, et frequentissimum initium esse calamitatis securitatem."

66, 71. All power's to be fear'd, where 'tis too much. Tac., *Hist.*, II, 92: "nec umquam satis fida potentia, ubi nimia est."

66, 73. male-spirited dame. *De an[im]o virili Agrip. consul. Tacit. Ann. lib. 1. pag. 12. [33: Atque ipsa Agrippina*

paulo commotior, nisi quod castitate et mariti amore quamvis indomitum animum in bonum vertebat.] & 22. [69] *lib. 2. pa. 47.* [75. These two citations illustrate her intrepidity.]

66, 74. **slackes no meanes.** Cunningham quotes, "Slack not the good presage," from book v of Dryden's translation of the *Aeneid* [834].

66, 77. **like praiers, like vows.** *Tac. Ann. lib. 4. pa. 79.* [17]

66, 82. **Regulus.** This Regulus is of course not the Regulus of the play, P. Mummius Regulus, consul A. D. 31, but apparently Livineius Regulus, mentioned by Tac., *Ann.*, III, 11. Furnius is the Furnius with whom Claudia Pulchra, see 119, 21-2, was accused of committing adultery, among other crimes. Both were condemned.

66, 85. **Whose niece she was.** *Erat enim Neptis Augusti. Agrippae, & Juliae filia, Germanici uxor. Suet. Aug. cap. 64.* Niece is here used in the older sense of granddaughter.

66, 88. **her fruitfulness.** *De fecunditate ejus. vid. Tacit. Ann. lib. 2. pag. 39.* [43: et coniunx Germanici Agrippina fecunditate ac fama Liviam uxorem Drusi praecelebatur.] & *lib. 4. pa. 77.* [12. See 219 below.]

67, 96. **competitors.** The Roman Principate was theoretically to a certain extent elective, though actually it often proved to be hereditary. The emperor might designate his successor, who was usually his son, if he had a son, but need not be. In the present case, Tiberius had not formally nominated his successor, and all the possible nominees were strictly competitors. The sons of Germanicus are accused of each attempting to secure for himself an undue advantage. Later, successful rebellion often raised this or that man to the throne, without apparent violation of the principle, since it was easy to regard successful rebellion as a species of election.

67, 98. **with hope Of future freedome.** *Displicere regnantibus civilia filiorum ingenia: neque ob aliud interceptos, quam quia Pop[ulum] Rom. aequo jure complecti, reddita libertate, agnoverint. Not[a] Tacit. lib. 2. Ann. pag. 49.* [82]

With the parenthetical expression, compare *Timb.*, ed. Schelling, pp. 15-6: "*Vulgi expectatio.* — Expectation of the vulgar

is more drawn and held with newness than goodness ; we see it in fencers, in players, in poets, in preachers, in all where fame promiseth anything ; so it be new, though never so naught and depraved, they run to it, and are taken. Which shews, that the only decay or hurt of the best men's reputation with the people is, their wits have outlived the people's palates. They have been too much or too long a feast." And Chalkhill's *Thealma and Clearchus*, 2258-9 :

As thirsting after novelty, the thing
That tickles the rude vulgar. •

The observation, coeval with humanity and employed by writers innumerable, has not yet lost point, cf. Lecky, *Democracy and Liberty*, I, 44.

67, 106. We will command. *Vid. Suet. Tib. cap. 54.* [sed ut comperit, ineunte anno pro eorum [filiorum Germanici] quoque salute publice vota suscepta, egit cum senatu, non debere talia praemia tribui nisi expertis et aetate provectis.]

68, 120-121. then offenders found. Gifford quotes, slightly inaccurately, Juv., *Sat. vi*, 284-5 :

nihil est audacius illis
deprensis ; iram et animos a crimine sumunt.

68, 124-6. Give 'hem more place. *Tac. Ann. lib. 4. pag. 76. 79.* [In 8 Nero and Drusus jr. are presented to the senate, in 18 Silius is attacked. These incidents are of course dramatized in III, i.]

69, 135. wolves do change their haire. Proverbial, cf. *vulpem pilum mutare, non mores*, Suet. *Vespasianus*, 16. Cf. German: der Fuchs wechselt den Balg und bleibt ein Schalk.

69, 136-7. While thus your thought. *Tac., Hist.*, III, 40: "mox utrumque consilium aspernatus, quod inter ancipitia deterrimum est, dum media sequitur, nec ausus est satis nec providit."

69, 139-140. The subject is no lesse, etc. *Sen., Thyest.*, 205-7:

maximum hoc regni bonum est,
quod facta domini cogitur populus sui
tam ferre quam laudare.

Also made use of in *The Misfortunes of Arthur*, II, ii.

69, 140. We can no longer. *Tiberium variis artibus devinxit adeo (Sejanus) ut obscurum adversum alios, sibi uni incau-*

tum, intectumque efficeret. Tac. Ann. lib. 4. pa. 74. [1] vid. Dio. Hist. Rom. lib. 57. pag. 707. [19]

69, 142. Thy thoughts are ours. This is the interpretation of Suetonius, who says that Tiberius was not spurred on to cruelty by Sejanus, but that the minister simply supplied opportunities for the gratification of his master's taste. See *Tib.*, 61.

69, 146. clickt all his marble thumb's. *Premere pollicem, apud Roman. maximi favoris erat Signum. Hor. epist. ad Lollium. [Ep. 1, 18, 66] Fautor utroque tuum laudabit pollice ludum. Et Plin. Nat. Hist. lib. 28. cap. 2. Pollices, cum faveamus, premere etiam proverbio jubemur. De interp[retatione] loci, vid. Ang[eli] Pol[itiani] Miscell[anea] cap. xlii. et Turn[ebi] Adver[sariorum] libri triginta] lib. xi. cap. vi.*

69, 150. commanded an imperiall armie. *Tac. lib. Ann. 3. pag. 63 [45, 46.] & lib. 4. pag. 79. [18. Amicitia Germanici perniciose utrique [Silio et Sabino], Silio et quod ingentis exercitus septem per annos moderator partis apud Germaniam triumphalibus Sacroviriani belli victor, quanto maiore mole procideret, plus formidinis in alios dispersebatur.]*

69, 153. The ornaments triumphall. By this time no triumphs were permitted except to the prince himself or to one of his immediate family. Successful generals, whatever the greatness of their services, were not allowed the triumphal procession, but merely the ornaments, namely, the corona aurea, toga picta, tunica palmata, scipio eburneus, etc.

70, 158. Sabinus. *Tac. ibid. [iv, 19: dilato ad tempus Sabino.]*

70, 162. Sosia. *Tac. ibid. [Erat uxor Silio Sosia Galla, caritate Agrippinae invisa principi.]*

70, 165-6. Cremutius Cordus. *Vid. Tac. Ann. lib. 4. pag. 83. [34] Dio. Hist. Rom. lib. 57. pag. 710. [24] et Sen[ecae] cons. ad Mar[ciam] cap. 1. et fusius. cap. 22.*

70, 175 ff. As if there were that chaos. Certainly suggested by the words of Caesar to Metellus in *Luc., Phars.*, III, 137 ff. :

te uindice tuta relicta est
libertas? non usque adeo permiscuit imis
longus summa dies, ut non, si uoce Metelli
seruentur leges, malint a Caesare tolli.

and compare *Catil.*, iv, ii :

Cat. He save the state ! a burgess' son of Arpinum.
The gods would rather twenty Romes should perish
Than have that contumely stuck upon them,
That he should share with them in the preserving
A shed, or sign-post.

71, 184-6. **Counsels are unfit.** The thought is not unusual, see *Luc.*, *Phars.*, i, 281, but Jonson has specially in mind *Tac.*, *Hist.*, i, 21 : "Opportunos magnis conatibus transitus rerum, nec cunctatione opus, ubi perniciosior quies quam temeritas." The idea twice occurs in *Catil.*, i, i, "Deferring hurts, where powers are so prepared," where there is close resemblance to the Lucan passage, and iii, i, "These things, when they proceed not, they go backward." For 186-7, see *Tac.*, *Hist.*, i, 62 : "nihil in discordiis civilibus festinatione tutius, ubi facto magis quam consulto opus esset." And for 188-9, *ibid.*, i, 381 "nullus cunctationis locus est in eo consilio, quod non potest laudari nisi peractum."

71, 190. **command a court.** *Edicto ut plurimum Senatores in curiam vocatos constat. Tacit. Ann. lib. 1. pag. 3. [7]*

71, 192. 'Εμφοῦ. *Vulgaris quidam versus, quam saepe Tiber. recitasse memoratur. Dion. Hist. Rom. lib. 58. 729. [23: "At all events he is said to have often uttered the ancient saying: 'When I am dead, let fire o'erwhelm the earth.'"* The line, Foster says, is probably from the lost *Bellerophon* of Euripides.]

71, 193. **Posthumus.** *De Julio Postumo, vid. Tacit. Ann. lib. 4. pag. 77. [12: atque haec callidis criminatoribus, inter quos delegerat Iulium Postumum, per adulterium Mutiliae Priscæ inter intimos aviae et consiliis suis peridoneum, quia Prisca in animo Augustae valida anum suapte naturae potentiae anxiam insociabilem nurui efficiebat. See 210 ff.]*

71, 198. **Intelligence by auguri'.** Compare *Catil.*, iii, 5:

Cor.

I hope

We are not discover'd.

Var.

Yes, by revelation !

72, 204. **forgot t'extoll.** *Proximi Agrip[pinae] inliciebantur pravis sermonibus tumidos spiritus perstimulare. Tacit. ibid. [iv, 12.]*

72, 210. **Mutilia Prisca.** *Mutilia Prisca, quae in animum* [sic] *Augustae valida. Tac. ibid.* [See under 193 above.]

72, 212. **Tell the words.** *Verba Sili immodice jactata* vid. apud *Tac. Ann. lib. 4. pa. 79.* [18. See 94, 272 ff.]

72, 217. **so, to Gallus:** that is, in the same way, ascribe words of malice to Gallus; the phrase shows that in the preceding line Arruntius is not in the possessive case, as some editors have taken it.

72, 219. **infinite pride.** *Tacit. Ann. lib. 4. pag. 77.* [12 : ut superbam [Agrippinam] fecunditate, subnixam popularibus studiis inhiare dominationi apud Caesarem arguerent.]

73, 221. **With popular studies.** One would like to quote Jonson against himself, *Timb.*, ed. Schelling, p. 59 : "Pure and neat language I love, yet plain and customary. A barbarous phrase hath often made me out of love with a good sense, and doubtful writing hath wracked me beyond my patience." Yet he translates "popularibus studiis" by "popular studies." The passage illustrates as well as any a tendency found everywhere in Jonson when translating, namely, to make over-frequent use of cognates. I do not believe it was "plain and customary" in Elizabeth's day to express the idea "zeal and devotion of the people," by the phrase "popular studies." See *Conversations with Drummond*, xvii : "A scholar expert in Latine and Greke, but nothing in the English, said of hott broath that he would make the danger of it : for it could not be ill English that was good Latine, *facere periculum.*" Cf. Spingarn, Introduction to *Seventeenth Century Critical Essays*, I, lv : "In the Elizabethan age and the period immediately following it, there were two distinct schools of translation. Jonson was the recognized exponent of the literal theory, and as late as 1627 he praised May's *Lucan* for having

‘brought

Lucan's whole frame unto us, and so wrought

As not the smallest joint or gentlest word

In the great mass or machine there is stirred.’

It is needless to say that he was not without followers, and a quarter of a century later Marvell characterized as 'translation's thief' the translator who added to, or subtracted from, his original in any particular. The opposing school, which echoed the Horatian protest against too literal translation, was represented by Harington, Chap-

man, and others. Chapman admits that he has made such changes in his Homeric translations as the difference of tongues demands, and he defends himself on the ground that he is far from taking such liberties as Valla, Budessa, Solel, and the other continental translators of Homer; and it is true that we are still far from the method of 'imitation' or modernized paraphrase, of which Perrot d'Abancourt is the chief French exemplar."

73, 223-4. Pub-lic. Jonson was elsewhere guilty of what to our minds is a gross assault upon the aesthetic sense (see Swinburne, *A Study of Ben Jonson*, pp. 112-13); but before we condemn him as severely as Swinburne does in that passage, we must remember that writers of the time frequently divided words in this fashion, e. g., Herrick twice in a *Nuptial Song, or Epithalamium on Sir Clipseby Crew*; Chamberlayne's *Pharonnida*, II, 2, 62-3, IV, 2, 17-18; Shirley's *Cardinal*, I, ii; Beaumont and Fletcher, *Maid's Tragedy*, I, ii. And Jonson would have been especially influenced by such a passage as Catullus, XI, 11-12:

Gallicum Rhenum, horribile aequor ultimi-
mosque Britannos.

See also Hor., *Odes*, I, 2, 19; 25, 11; II, 16, 8. Cases in which Jonson breaks a word for the sake of rhyme are noted by Wilke, *Metrische Unters. zu B. J.*, pp. 59, 60, 61. It may be worth while to note also such instances as those in Ariosto, *Orl. Fur.*, xxviii, 41; xli, 32; xlii, 105.

73, 231 ff. Our citi's now Devided. *Haec apud Tac. lege. lib. 4. Ann. pag. 79.* [17: instabat quippe Seianus incusabatque diductam civitatem ut civili bello: esse qui se partium Agrippinae vocent, ac ni resistatur, fore pluris; neque aliud gliscentis discordiae remedium, quam si unus alterve maxime prompti subverterentur.]

73, 232. th' civill warre. The war between Caesar and Pompey.

74, 250 ff. once entred. Compare *Timb.*, ed. Schelling, p. 39: "But princes, by hearkening to cruel counsels, become in time obnoxious to the authors, their flatterers, and ministers; and are brought to that, that when they would, they dare not change them; they must go on and defend cruelty with cruelty; they cannot alter the habit. It is then grown necessary, they must be as ill as those have made them: and in the end they will grow more

hateful to themselves than to their subjects," where Jonson is indebted to Seneca, *De Clementia*, I, 13. Line 251 points out what was one of the most striking characteristics of Tiberius, namely, his persistence in a course of action once determined upon.

Cf. *Macbeth*, III, v, 136-8; and see Mach., *Istorie Fior.*, VIII, ch. II: "queste [congiure] . . . gli danno cagione di temere; il temere, d'assicurarsi; l'assicurarsi, d'ingiurare; donde ne nascono gli odj di poi, e molte volte la sua rovina."

74, 253. **To thrust Tiberius into tyrannie.** These lines, however, are contrary to the opinion of Suetonius, see under 142 above. There is of course no inconsistency on Jonson's part: he rightly represents Tiberius as cruel, and Sejanus as thinking that he is the one to whom that cruelty is due.

74, 256. **Germanicus three sonnes.** *Quorum non dubia successio, neque spargi venenum in tres poterat, &c. vid. Tac. Ann. lib. 4. pag. 77.* [12. See below under 259.]

74, 259. **Unreproov'd a chastitie.** Agrippina was noted for her chastity; see Tac., *Ann.*, IV, 12: "neque spargi venenum in tres poterat, egregia custodum fide et pudicitia Agrippinae inpenetrabili."

75, 2. **in the wind:** a hunting expression meaning: they have the scent of us.

75, 4. **others more desir'd.** *Silius, Sabinus, de quibus supra.* [See 69, 147-160.]

75, 7. **they hunt.** *Tib. Tempor. Delatores genus hominum publico exitio repertum, & poenis quidem nunquam satis coercitum, per praemia eliciebantur. Tac. Annal. lib. 4. pa. 82.* [30]

75, 12. **publique hooke.** Criminals, once condemned, were dragged to the Tiber by means of a hook struck into the neck.

76, 14. **Afer.** *De Domit. Af. vid. Tac. Ann. lib. 4. pag. 89.* 93. [52, 66]

76, 16. **strew his rethorique with.** *Quoquo facinore properus clarescere. Tacit. ibid. [52] & infra. prosperiore eloquentiae quam morum fama fuit. [52] et pag. 93. [66] diu egens, et parto nuper praemio male usus, plura ad flagitia accingeretur.*

77, 10. **Earnest to utter.** *Vid. Tac. Ann. lib. 4. pag. 79.* [19. Tacitus says merely that she was hated by Tiberius because she was dear to Agrippina.]

77, 15. your losse, and danger: *Tac. lib. 4. Annal. pag. 77. [12]*

77, 22. substance: something having substance or body.

77, 27. I would hate. *Tac., iv, 54*, calls Agrippina "simulationum nescia."

78, 35. You may perceive. *Tacit. ibid. & pag. 90. & 92.* [In *iv, 12*, Tacitus says that Sejanus set spies on Agrippina; in *54*, that he sent to her those who warned her to beware of Tiberius; in *59* and *60*, that he set agents to work on Nero and Drusus.]

78, 45. Some subtil practice. *Suet. Tib. cap. 2.* [This is a puzzling reference, if indeed there be not some misprint. It is difficult to tell from the position of the reference letter whether it refers to the first or second half of the line. If to the latter, there is nothing in chap. 2 that has in the remotest degree anything to do with Germanicus or his death. If to the former, the case seems almost equally hopeless. The chapter gives an account of the famous men and women of the Claudian family. The impression created is that the Claudii were in general an able, proud, unscrupulous, violent race. It may be that this general impression was all that Jonson had in mind.] *Dion. Rom. Hist. lib. 57. pag. 705. [18.* This gives a brief account of the death of Germanicus and accuses Tiberius and his mother of the crime.]

78, 49. He threatens many. Whalley refers to Publius [or Publilius] Syrus [*l. 310*]: "Multis minatur, qui uni facit injuriam."

79, 52. Drusus is dying. *Tac. Ann. lib. 4. pag. 74. 75. 76. 77. [3, 7-11.* These contain the account of the death of the elder Drusus.]

79, 57. Poyson. *Tacit. ibid.*

80, 67. The Senate sit. *Vid. Tac. Ann. lib. 4. pag. 76. [8]*

80, 73. No tree, that stops his prospect. See the fragment of *Mortimer*:

Naught hinders now our prospect, all are even,
We walk upon a level.

So in *The Bloody Brother*, in which Jonson apparently collaborated with Fletcher *et al.*, *iv, i*:

Nothing left standing to obscure our prospect.

Below under 144, 3, is also noted a passage from Wilson's *Andronicus Comnenus*, in which a similar phrase occurs. The parallel is noted by Faber in *John Wilsons Dramen, Eine Quellenstudie*, 1904; as he apparently failed to read *Sejanus* with care, the other cases of imitation by Wilson pointed out in these notes escaped him.

81. The Senate. The Senate, especially under the Empire, could sit as a court of trial in practically any case important enough to be brought before it. The proceeding was in general similar to that of ordinary courts. The consul presided. To him was made the accuser's complaint (see note on delators, 28, 64); the evidence was brought forward, and judgment rendered by vote. The peculiar iniquitousness of the present trial lay in the fact that the formal accuser and the presiding officer were one and the same (see 197 ff.). The whole affair will be better understood by the reader if he bears in mind the fact that the *forms* and processes of the Republic were zealously kept up during at least the early Empire.

81, 1. Tis only you. *Tac. Ann. lib. 4. pag. 79.* [19. See under 238.] It should be said that Jonson is in this scene combining three separate meetings of the Senate; the death of Drusus took place in A. D. 23, the trial of Silius in A. D. 24, and that of Cordus in A. D. 25.

81, 5. your father. Varro's father, C. Visellius Varro, had been at odds with Silius over the command against Sacrovir, *Tac., Ann.*, III, 43. The phrase,

and under colour of late enmity

Between your father and his,

is a free translation of "*paternas inimicitias obtendens*," *Tac., Ann.*, IV, 19, where Varro's accusation of Silius is spoken of. The ascription of this speech to Sejanus is justified by the fact that in the same sentence Tacitus tells us that in accusing Silius, Varro gratified the hatred of Sejanus (see below, 238).

81, 12. under name of treason. *Tacit. ibid.* [19] *Sed cuncta questione maiestatis exercita.* Tacitus says that the accusers of Silius did not rest their case solely on the charge of embezzlement in the province, but that they preferred to embrace everything that they could say against him under the head of treason. With regard to the lines preceding, Tacitus does not say definitely that it was the plan of Caesar and Sejanus to take Silius unprepared, but the infer-

ence is a legitimate one from the tone of the passage in which he narrates the trial.

81, 13. Caesar will not be here. The statement of Sabinus that Caesar will not appear is suggested by Tac., *Ann.*, iv, 8, where he says that Caesar entered the senate "although Drusus was dead and not yet buried," at a time, in short, when he was not expected.

82, 21. whips: a proverbial allusion in Elizabethan literature, e.g., *Spanish Tragedy*, iii, xi, ll. 37-8 of Interpolation:

And there's Nemesis, and Furies,
And things called whips.

82, 25. so low. Tacit. *cod. lib. pag. 76.* [iv, 8] *Consulesque sede vulgari per speciem moestitiae sedentes.*

82, 28. Fathers conscript. *Praefatio solennis Consulum Rom. vid. Bar. Briss. de for. lib. 2.* "Barnabé Brisson (1531-1591) was the writer of celebrated treatises on the terminology of the Civil Law (1557) and on the legal *formulae* of the Romans." Sandys, *History of Class. Scholarship*, ii, 193.

83, 30. Lictor. The lictors were the personal attendants of the higher magistrates (in this case the consul) and bore the fasces (see note on 44, 116). Ordinarily they were not employed to execute commands (Mommsen, *Römisches Staatsrecht*, i, 359-60), but symbolized the authority of the magistrate. The *præcones* were likewise attached to the various magistrates, and had among other duties that of citing the parties to a legal process and the witnesses (Mommsen, *ibid.* 348-9). It is worth noting that Jonson is here making a careful distinction between their functions.

83, 37. thus dissolv'd. Tac. *Ann. lib. 4. pa. 76.* [8. In order to illustrate Jonson's method fully I compare Tacitus line by line with the first part of this scene: "ceterum Tiberius per omnes valetudinis eius (Drusi) dies, nullo metu an ut firmitudinem animi ostentaret, etiam defuncto necdum sepulto, curiam ingressus est. consulesque sede vulgari per speciem maestitiae (26) sedentes honoris locique (38) admonuit (suggests the tone of 35-40), et effusum in lacrimas senatum victo gemitu simul oratione continua erexit: non quidem sibi ignarum posse argui, quod tam recenti dolore subierit oculos senatus; vix propinquorum adloquia tolerari, vix diem aspicit

a plerisque lugentium (41-47). neque illos inbecillitatis damnandos (48-9); se tamen fortiora solacia e complexu rei publicae petivisse (49-51). miseratusque Augustae extremam senectam, rudem adhuc nepotum et vergentem aetatem suam (52-4), ut Germanici liberi, unica praesentium malorum levamenta (56-8), inducerentur petivit (59-60). egressi consules firmatos adloquio adulescentulos deductosque ante Caesarem statuunt. quibus adprensis 'patres conscripti, hos' inquit 'orbatos parente tradidi patruo ipsorum precatusque sum (67-8), quamquam esset illi propria suboles, ne secus quam suum sanguinem foveret, attolleret, sibique et posteris conformaret (69-72). erepto Druso preces ad vos converto disque et patria coram obtestor (73-4): Augusti pronepotes, clarissimis majoribus genitos, suscipite, regite (75-6), vestram meamque vicem explete (77). hi vobis, Nero et Druse, parentum loco (78-9). ita nati estis (80) ut bona malaque vestra ad rem publicam pertineant (81).' Ch. 9. Magno ea fletu et mox precationibus faustis audita (82-91); ac si modum orationi posuisset (this comment of Tac. affords a starting-point for the skeptical remarks of Arruntius, 64-5, 96-9, 105), misericordia sui gloriaque animos audientium (compare 92-4) impleverat: ad vana et totiens inrisa (112 is suggested by this word) revolutus, de reddenda re publica (110-111) utque consules seu quis alius regimen susciperent (115-6), vero quoque et honesto fidem dempsit'' (118-21).]

The heartless attitude of Tiberius toward Drusus' death demands comment. It is true that at this point Tiberius makes protestations of grief; but he does so in obedience to the authority of Tacitus, who at the same time is skeptical about his sincerity, and nowhere else in the play does he exhibit the slightest concern. Moreover, in II, ii, all of Tiberius' policy is purely selfish; his plans are all for his own benefit, not for that of his son, who is not even mentioned, except obliquely by Sejanus. Suetonius tells us in so many words that Tiberius did not love Drusus (cap. 52), though elsewhere he relates incidents somewhat inconsistent with the statement. There was a rumor that Tiberius had poisoned Drusus. Dio, 57, 22, Sen., *Ad Marciam*, xv, and Josephus, *Antiquities of the Jews*, xviii, 6, all give us to believe that Tiberius loved his son. I have commented in the *Introduction* on Jonson's tendency to simplify character.

83, 37. dissolv'd : Lat. dissolutus, that is, lax, negligent.

The consuls, having lost "remembrance of style and place," are not occupying the special or curule chairs set apart for them, but are sitting on the benches belonging to the body of the senators (see ll. 25-6), and the first part of the quotation above. Cf. Spenser, *Faerie Queene*, I, vii, 6: "Who him disarmed, dissolute, dismaid."

83, 46. **face**: a rather unusual use of the word in an abstract or collective sense; compare note on 37, 235.

85, 78. **these shall be to you**. *Tac. Ann. lib. 4. pa. 76*. [See under 37 above.]

85, 84. **Let their great titles**. *Claud., De Consul Stilich.* II, 317-8:

Titulo tunc crescere posses;

Nunc per te titulus.

85, 87. **no rivals, but themselves**. "In the *Double Falsehood*, brought out by Mr. Theobald as written by Shakspeare, is this line:

'None but himself can be his parallel,'

a mode of expression which drew on him the ridicule of wits and critics. In vindication of himself he produced many similar passages from the classics, etc., and against this verse of Jonson, in the margin of his copy, he hath written *parallel*, as an instance of the like kind. I will add another from *The Dumb Knight*, 1608, act I, sc. 1:

'She is herself compared with herself,

For but herself she hath no companion.' " (Whalley.)

See another in Hazlitt's edition of the above play in Hazlitt's *Dodsley*, x, and compare Lounsbury's *Text of Shakspeare*, 215 ff., and Mart., *Epig.*, I, 109.

86, 108. **issue**: the issue of Germanicus.

86, 112. **Laugh, Fathers, laugh**. *Tac. ibid.* [See under 37 above.] *Ad vana & toties inrisa revolutus, de reddenda Rep. utque Consules, seu quis alius regimen susciperent.*

The spleen was sometimes thought to be the seat of laughter.

87, 123. **that charme**. *Tonitrua præter modum expavescebat: & turbatiore caelo nunquam non coronam lauream capite gestavit, quod fulmine afflari negetur id genus frondis. Suet. Tib. cap. 69. vid. Plin. Nat. Hist. lib. 15. cap. 30.*

88, 136. **Vertumnus**: the god of the changing year; compare *The Staple of News*, III, i:

Tut, I am Vertumnus,
 On every change, or chance, upon occasion,
 A true camelion, I can colour for it.
 I move upon my axle like a turnpike,
 Fit my face to the parties, and become
 Straight one of them.

88, 140. my obedience. *Semper perplexa & obscura. Orat. Tib. vid. Tacit. Ann. lib. 1. pag. 5.* [II. Tacitus' words are: "suspensa semper et obscura verba."]

89, 155 ff. Cite Caius Silius. The passage of Tacitus (IV, 18, 19, 20), on which the trial of Silius is founded, is here quoted in full. It will be noticed that Tacitus does not say that Afer took part in the prosecution of Silius. Jonson assigns him a part on the basis of what Tacitus tells us about his general share in the evil activities of the time (see under 76, 16).

Qua causa C. Silius et Titius Sabinus (see below IV, iii) adgreditur. amicitia Germanici perniciose utrique, Silius et quod ingentis exercitus septem per annos moderator partis apud Germaniam triumphalibus Sacroviriani belli victor, quanto maiore mole procideret, plus formidinis in alios dispergebatur (see above, 69, 148-157). credebant plerique auctam offensionem ipsius intemperantia, immodice iactantis (271) suum militem in obsequio duravisse, cum alii ad seditiones prolaberentur (272-5); neque mansurum Tiberio imperium, si iis quoque legionibus cupido novandi fuisset (276-7). destrui per haec fortunam suam Caesar imparemque tanto merito rebatur (290-3). nam beneficia eo usque laeta sunt, dum videntur exsolvi posse (304-5); ubi multum antevenere (303-4), pro gratia odium redditur (300-301).

19. Erat uxor Silius Sosia Galla, caritate Agrippinae (76, 4 ff.) invisa principi (70, 162-7). hos corripere dilato ad tempus Sabino (70, 158-160) placitum, immissusque Varro consul (178-9), qui paternas inimicitias obtendens (4-5) odiis Sejani per dedecus suum gratificabatur (238). precante reo brevem moram, dum accusator consulatu abiret (197-8), adversatus est Caesar: solitum quippe magistratibus diem privatis dicere (201-204); nec infringendum consulis ius, cuius vigiliis niteretur, ne quod res publica detrimentum caperet (204-8). proprium id Tiberio fuit scelera nuper reperta priscis verbis obtegere (209). igitur multa adseveratione, quasi aut

legibus cum Silio ageretur aut Varro consul aut illud res publica esset, coguntur patres. (The "asseveratio" is the oath taken by Tiberius in 216-9. The irony of Tacitus in the phrase "quasi," etc., perhaps gives rise to 221-8.) *silente reo*, vel si defensionem coeptaret, non occultante cuius ira premeretur (231-2), *conscientia belli Sacrovir diu dissimulatus*, *victoria per avaritiam foedata* et uxor *Sosia arguebantur* (181-9). nec dubie *repetundarum criminibus* haerebant, sed cuncta quaestione maiestatis exercita (11-12), et Silius imminens damnationem (315-8) voluntario fine praevertit (338).

20. *Saevitum* tamen in bona (352-3), non ut stipendiariis pecuniae redderentur, quorum nemo repetebat, sed liberalitas Augusti avulsa, computatis singillatim quae fisco petebantur. ea prima Tiberio erga pecuniam alienam diligentia fuit (354). *Sosia* in exilium pellitur *Asinii Galli* sententia (356), qui partem bonorum publicandum, pars ut liberis relinqueretur censuerat (357-8). contra M'. *Lepidus* quartam accusatoribus secundum necessitudinem legis, cetera liberis concessit (359-61). hunc ego *Lepidum* temporibus illis gravem et sapientem virum fuisse comperior (366-8): nam pleraque ab saevis adulationibus aliorum in melius flexit (369). neque tamen temperamenti egebat, cum aequabili auctoritate et gratia apud Tiberium vigeret (see note on 132, 36).

Citebatur reus e tribunali voce praeconis. Vid. Bar. Brisson. lib. 5. de for. [See under 82, 28 and 83, 30 above.]

90, 171. *informer gapes for.* See under 28, 64.

90, 173. *These now are crimes:* *Vid. Suet. Tiber. Tac. Dio. Senec.* Jonson probably had in mind especially Suet., *Tib.*, cap. 61; in Tac., iv and vi contain an especially large number of trials for treason; in Dio the latter part of 57 and the whole of 58; in Seneca, probably *De Beneficiis*, iii, 26, which he has more than once referred to.

90, 182. *beginning, and occasioning.* *Tac. lib. 4. pag. 79. Conscientia belli, Sacrovir diu dissimulatus, victoria per avaritiam foedata, & uxor Sosia arguebantur.* [See under 155 ff.]

90, 183. *the warre.* *Bellum Sacrovirianum in Gall[ia] erat. Triumph. in Germ. vid. Tac. Ann. lib. 3. pag. 63. [45, 46.]* Julius Sacrovir was a Gallic noble of apparently considerable ability. In complicity with Julius Florus, another Gallic noble, he raised in A.D. 21 a formidable rebellion, reduced by Silius in the same year.

It should be noted that Tacitus does not deny that Silius was "guilty of complicity in the rebellion of Sacrovir" (Allen). It does not of course suit Jonson, whose object was to depict Tiberius in the darkest colors, to permit such an imputation to rest upon one of the principal members of the Germanican party.

90, 187. **thy wife Sosia.** See Tac., III, 33, in which it is pointed out that the wives of those to whom provinces were allotted were frequently the worst offenders.

91, 192. **If I not prove it, Caesar.** *Vid. accusandi formulam apud Brisson. lib. 5. de For.* [Suet., *Augustus*, 32, mentions a decree of that prince: "ut si quem quis repetere vellet, par periculum poenae subiret."]

91, 203. **The magistrate.** Tac. *Annal. lib. 4. pa. 79. Adversatus est Caesar: solitum quippe Magistratibus, diem privatis dicere, nec infringendum Consulibus ius, cuius vigiliis, &c.* [See under 155 ff.]

91, 204. **appoint their day:** compare "design my day of trial," 199-200. The phrase is a translation of "diem dicere," a technical expression for bringing a prosecution. Jonson is hence using both of the English phrases in a quite un-English sense.

91, 209. **fraud:** this consisted in a wrong interpretation of the law. In commenting on Tac., IV, 19, Allen says: "The phrase quoted by Tiberius" [with reference to the right of the magistrate to call forth private men, see quotation under 155 ff.] "had reference to the proclamation of martial law, not to ordinary criminal prosecutions." This fact is what gives special point to 220-225.

93, 238. **To gratify it.** Tac. *Ann. lib. 4. pa. 79.* [19. See under 155 ff.] *Immissusque Varro Consul, qui paternas inimicitias obtendens, odiis Sejani per dedecus suum gratificabatur.*

93, 239-240. **impious.** The Roman magistrate had religious as well as civil functions. He represented the Roman people toward the gods as well as toward other nations (Mommsen, *Röm. Staatsr.*, I, 88-89), and an attack upon his person might be well called impious. Compare *Catil.*, v, iv:

Caes. But first

Let Lentulus put off his praetorship.

Len. I do resign it here unto the Senate.

Caes. So, now there's no offence done to religion.

Cato. Caesar, 'twas piously and timely urged.

93, 245. **A net of Vulcan's filing.** The story was that Vulcan, suspecting the infidelity of Venus with Mars, wrought a fine net, which he threw over them on a certain occasion, afterward calling in the other gods to witness their discomfiture.

For first with all his craft he did invent

A curious toil of meshes, strongly set

With supple fibrous thread and branches bent:

Full tightly they were bounden in that net.

O'Shaughnessy, *An Epic of Women*.

The expression, "a net of Vulcan's filing," is used by Massinger in *Rom. Act.*, iv, ii.

93, 256-7. **blue-ey'd Gaules.** Gifford quotes Juv., xiii, 164:

Caerula quis stupuit Germani lumina, flavam

Caesariem, et madido torquentem cornua cirro.

(Friedlaender's text reads torquentem.) An image of an eagle formed the legionary standard from about the time of Marius on; before whom other standards had also been used.

94, 261. **curl'd Sicambrians.** *Populi Germ. hodie Geldri in Belgica sunt inter Mosam et Rhenum: quos celebrat Mart. Spect. 3.*

Crinibus in nodum tortis

venere Sicambri.

[*Ep.*, i, 3.]

94, 273. **Thou lately mad'st.** *Tac. Ann. lib. 4. pag. 79.*
[See under 89, 155 ff.]

95, 287-8. **cause Of crime:** "crime" appears to be used in the sense of "crimen," an accusation, and the whole phrase equals "ground of accusation."

96, 297. **To make him guiltie.** Wilson, *Andron. Commen.*, ii, i:

One need not far to find

A staff to beat a dog, nor circumstance

To make him guilty that's before foredoom'd!

96, 302 ff. **so soone, all best turnes.** So Bacon, *History of Henry VII*, in speaking of the reasons why the king gave willing ear to the accusations against Sir William Stanley: "First, an over-merit: for convenient merit, unto which reward may easily reach, doth best with Kings."

Wilson, *Andron. Comnen.*, v, i:

He's gone the way of those that oblige tyrants
Beyond requital — he's strangled.

The sentiment is common in Elizabethan literature and elsewhere ;
e. g., Alfieri, *Rosmunda*, iv, ii, turns the idea effectively :

Nè più mi offende
In te tua fella ingratitudin : vero
Re ti conosco a ciò.

As a principle of political action, it is analyzed by Mach., *Disc.*,
1, 29.

97, 324. **That are but hands of fortune.** Compare
Sen., *De Constantia Sapientis*, viii : “ Et si fortunæ iniuriæ mode-
rate fert, quanto magis hominum potentium, quos scit fortunæ
manus esse ? ” And in the last part of *De Providentia* Seneca points
out how easily the good man may escape the evils of life by “ the
bare bodkin.”

97, 324-5. **Shee her selfe.** Luc., *Phars.*, ix, 569 :

Fortunaque perdat
opposita virtute minas ?

97, 333. **The coward, and the valiant man must
fall.** Luc., *ibid.*, 583 :

pavido fortique cadendum est.

98, 338. **Would know to mock.** So in *Nero*, iv, vii,
last line, Petronius says :

Nero, my end shall mock thy tyranny.

98, 340. **desperate act.** Tac. *ibid.* [See under 89, 155 ff.
It will be noticed, as Whalley points out, that Tacitus does not say
that Silius killed himself before the senate.]

98, 344 ff. **We are not pleas'd.** Jonson had in mind
Tac., *Ann.*, iii, 50 : “ Saepe audiivi principem nostrum conqueren-
tem, si quis sumpta morte misericordiam eius praevenisset.”

98, 347. **Excellent.** This etymological use of “ excellent ”
is Elizabethan idiom, e. g., Othello's “ excellent wretch,” iii, iii,
90 ; instances are numerous.

99, 366. **This Lepidus Is grave and honest.** Tac.
Ann. lib. 4. pa. 80. [See under 155 ff.]

99, 371. Noble Cordus. *Tac. Ann. lib. 4. pag. 83. 84.*
[34, 35] *Dio. Hist. Rom. lib. 57. pag. 710. [24]*

I give in full, as before, the passage from Tacitus: "Cornelio Cossio Asinio Agrippa consulibus Cremutius Cordus postulatur, novo ac tunc primum audito crimine, quod editis annalibus laudatoque M. Bruto C. Cassium Romanorum ultimum dixisset (391-2). accusabant Satrius Secundus et Pinnarius Natta, Sejani clientes. id perniciosum reo, et Caesar truci vultu defensionem accipiens, quam Cremutius, relinquendae vitae certus, in hunc modum exorsus est: 'verba mea, patres conscripti, arguuntur (408): adeo factorum innocens sum (407). sed neque haec in principem aut principis parentem, quos lex maiestatis amplectitur (409-10); Brutum et Cassium laudavisse dicor (411), quorum res gestas cum plurimi composuerint, nemo sine honore memoravit (412-3). Titus Livius, eloquentiae ac fidei praeclarus in primis (414-5), Cn. Pompeium tantis laudibus tulit, ut Pompeianum cum Augustus appellaret (416-7); neque id amicitiae eorum offecit (418) Scipionem, Afranium, hunc ipsum Cassium, hunc Brutum (418-20) nusquam latrones et parricidas (420), quae nunc vocabula imponuntur (421), saepe ut insignis viros nominat (421). Asinii Pollionis scripta egregiam eorundem memoriam tradunt (423-4); Messalla Corvinus imperatorem suum Cassium praedicabat (424-5); et uterque opibus atque honoribus perviguere (425-6). Marci Ciceronis libro, quo Catonem caelo aequavit (427-8), quid aliud dictator Caesar quam rescripta oratione, velut apud iudices, respondit (428-30)? Antonii epistolae, Bruti contiones (431-32) falsa quidem in Augustum probra, set multa cum acerbitate habent (432-3); carmina Bibaculi et Catulli referta contumeliis Caesarum leguntur (434-5): sed ipse divus Iulius, ipse divus Augustus (436) et tulere ista et reliquere (437), haud facile dixerim, moderatione magis an sapientia (437-9). namque spreta exolescunt (439-40): si irascere, agnita videntur (441). non attingo Graecos, quorum non modo libertas (442), etiam libido impunita (443); aut si quis advertit, dictis dicta ultus est (444-5). sed maxime solutum et sine obtrectatore fuit (446-7) prodere de iis, quos mors odio aut gratiae exemisset (447-8). num enim armatis Cassio et Bruto ac Philippenses campos optinentibus (449-50) belli civilis causa populum per contiones incendio (451-2)? an illi quidem septuagensimum ante annum peremti (452-3),

quo modo imaginibus suis noscuntur, quas ne victor quidem abolevit (453-4), sic partem memoriae apud scriptores retinent (455)? suum cuique decus posteritas rependit (456); nec deerunt, si damnatio ingruit (457), qui non modo Cassii et Bruti, sed etiam mei meminerint (458-60). egressus dein senatu vitam abstinencia finivit. libros per aediles cremandos censuere patres (465-6); set manserunt, occultati et editi. quo magis socordiam eorum inridere libet, qui praesenti potentia credunt exstingui posse etiam sequentis aevi memoriam (471-4). nam contra punitis ingeniis gliscit auctoritas, neque aliud externi reges aut qui eadem saevitia usi sunt, nisi dedecus sibi atque illis gloriam peperere" (475-80).

99, 373. **What is he.** Whalley says that Upton would read:

Tib. What is he for? (i. e., of what is he accused?)

Sej. The Annals, Caesar.

100, 376-7. **Sejanus bloud-hounds.** Sen., *Ad Marc.*, 22: "et acerrimi canes, quos ille [Seianus] ut sibi uni mansuetos, omnibus feros haberet, sanguine humano pascebat, circumlatrare hominem et iam illum impetratum incipiunt."

102, 419. **Scipio.** "Metellus Scipio, father-in-law of Pompey, who led the opponents of Cæsar after the death of Pompey; like Cato, he killed himself after the battle of Thapsus. Afranius was another leader of the same party." (Allen.)

102, 422. **notes:** Jonson has in mind the "nota censoria," a mark placed by the censors against the name of any one censured; hence "nota" is equivalent to "blot."

102, 423. **Asinius Pollio's:** *Septem dec[em] lib. Hist. scripsit vid. Suid[as], I, 786 Suet.* [probably *De Grammaticis*, 10. Pollio lived from 76 B. C. to 5 A. D. Fragments of his work only are extant. Though an opponent of Antony, he did not, as Jonson's lines, perhaps unintentionally, suggest, live in close friendship with Augustus. The Messalla of the next line is the Valerius Messalla of *Julius Caesar*, 64 B. C. to 8 A. D.]

102, 427. **To Cicero's booke.** Both Cicero's *Laus Cætonis* and the *Anticatones* of Caesar are lost.

102, 431 ff. **Antonius letters:** "Some extracts from these letters are given by Suetonius (*Oct*, 7, 16, 63, 69). Of these speeches of Brutus nothing is known. Bibaculus was a poet, de-

scribed by Horace (*Sat.* 11, 5, 40) as of an inflated style. The vulgar abuse of Cæsar in the poems of Catullus (11 and 29) is still extant." (Allen.)

102, 436. **no lesse**: supply "deified," and see under 48, 195.

103, 440. **if they despised bee**. See 176, 83, and compare *Catil.* 111, 1:

Where it concerns himself,

Who's angry at a slander makes it true,

and Johnson says, "Alas! reputation would be of little worth, were it in the power of every concealed enemy to deprive us of it." See Hill's note on p. 70, vol 11 of his edition of Boswell's *Johnson*, for an interesting collection of similar sentences. Seneca, *De Ira*, 111, 5, says, "Ultio doloris confessio est," which is quite close to the language employed by Cordus.

103, 442 ff. **whose licence**. The allusion appears to be to the free and unrestrained practice of the Old Comedy in its satire upon men prominent in the public life of Athens.

103, 457-60. **Nor shall there want**. See *Nero*, iv, v:
And if I die

For pitying human chance and Piso's end,

There will be some, too, that will pity mine.

104, 463. **Take him hence**. *Egressus dein senatu, vitam abstinentia finivit. Tac. ibid.* [See under 371.] *Generosam ejus mortem vid. apud Sen. Cons. ad Mar. cap. 22.*

104, 475-6. **the punishment Of wit**. See Milton's *Areopagitica*: "Although their own late arguments and defences against the prelates might remember them, that this obstructing violence meets for the most part with an event utterly opposite to the end which it drives at: instead of suppressing sects and schisms, it raises them and invests them with a reputation: 'The punishing of wits enhances their authority,' saith the Viscount St. Albans; 'and a forbidden writing is thought to be a certain spark of truth, that flies up in the faces of them who seek to tread it out.' This order, therefore, may prove a nursing mother to sects, but I shall easily shew how it will be stepdame to truth."

105, 480. **to the writers an eternall name**. *Manse-runt ejus libri occultati & editi. Tac. ibid.* [See under 371.] *Script-*

serat hic Cremut. bella civilia, & res August. extantque Fragmenta in Suasoria Sexta. Senec.

105, 486. The Roman race most wretched. *Suet. Tib. cap. 21.* [Scio vulgo persuasum quasi, egresso post secretum sermonem Tiberio, vox Augusti per cubicularios excepta sit: Miserrum populum R. qui sub tam lentis maxillis erit.]

105, 6. Gallus. *Vid. Tac. Ann. lib. 1. pag. 6.* [In 8 Gallus proposes honors to Tiberius; in 12 he offends the emperor by an indiscreet question regarding the division of power, and then attempts to excuse himself. Tiberius' anger is not, however, appeased.] *lib. 2. pag. 35.* [In 35, 36, Gallus again comes into opposition. Note that in III, i, 294, he had spoken against Silius, and that Arruntius was surprised thereby.]

105, 9. good vultures. The allusion is to that branch of augury called ornithomancy, or divination by birds, whereof the method is expounded at length in Jonson's notes to the *Masque of Augurs*. "Secundis avibus" meant auspiciously. The flight of vultures was of special importance, perhaps because they had been of such assistance to Romulus in determining the site of Rome.

106, 14. Dearest head. "Carum" or "carissimum caput" is a frequent Latin expression. Jonson, in *Catiline*, IV, ii, makes Catulus call Catiline "impudent head."

106, 16. Sir. *Tac. Ann. lib. 4. 85.* [39. Lines 16-42 are directly translated from Tacitus' account of the interview, with very unimportant expansions. As a matter of fact, this interview was actually carried on by letter (compare 95-6), according to the remarkable practice introduced by Caesar and followed by Augustus and Tiberius.]

106, 27. worthie his alliance. *Filia ejus Claudii filio desponsa.* [Ann., III, 29. Claudius, later the Emperor Claudius, was the son of Drusus, brother of Tiberius. His son Drusus, here referred to, died soon after this betrothal.]

107, 46-89. The rest of mortall men. This passage is again an almost literal translation of Tac., *Ann.*, IV, 40. It did not seem necessary to give either this or cap. 39, as, besides the fact that they would occupy much space, the method that Jonson employed in dealing with such portions of Tacitus has been sufficiently illustrated in the preceding scene.

107, 49. **Still to fame.** Different from that in *Mustapha*, by Fulke Greville, 1, 1:

For Power may be fear'd ; Empire ador'd ;
 Good fortune wooed, and followed for ambition:
 Rewards may make knees bow ; and self-love humble ;
 But Love is onely that which princes covet.

108, 53. **in the family.** Livia was the daughter of Tiberius' brother Drusus, hence Tiberius' niece, and granddaughter of Livia Augusta, Tiberius' mother.

108, 65. **Caius Caesar:** *August. Nepoti & M. Vipsani; Agrippae filio ex Julia.* He died in A.D. 4 ; see note on 36, 213.

108, 67. **a private gentleman.** Sejanus was of a municipal equestrian family (see *Argument*), and hence not comparable in rank with Livia, a daughter of the reigning house. Tiberius, besides having been adopted by Augustus, sprang of the Claudii, one of the oldest, noblest, and most famous of the Roman families (compare note on 78, 45). Livia, as his niece, shared these honors

109, 93. **How pleaseth Caesar.** *Tac. Ann. lib. 4. pa. 85. [41] Dio. lib. 58.* [But I do not find that Dio says that Sejanus induced Tiberius to leave Rome ; in fact, in 57, 12, he says that the tradition ran that Tiberius removed to Capreae on account of the continual interference of his mother in public affairs ; compare 72, 210 ff.]

110, 99 ff. **Dull, heavie Caesar.** Compare *Timb.*, p. 40: "But princes that neglect their proper office thus their fortune is oftentimes to draw a Sejanus to be near about them, who will at last affect to get above them, and put them in a worthy fear of rooting both them out and their family. For no men hate an evil prince more than they that helped to make him such."

110, 104-5. **I would . . . prevent that change.** Sejanus means that he will prevent Tiberius from executing the same plan for placating the public that he has himself in mind ; see 74, 261 ff., and *Timb.*, p. 38: "A prince should exercise his cruelty not by himself, but by his ministers ; so he may save himself and his dignity with the people by sacrificing those when he list, saith the great doctor of state, Machiavell." Schelling with that passage compares "Overbury's characterization of the host as one

that 'hath gotten the trick of greatness, to lay all mislikes upon his servants' (*Characters*, ed. London, 1856, p. 71)." And see Bacon, *Of Envy*: "Lastly, to conclude this part; as we said in the beginning that the act of envy had somewhat in it of witchcraft, so there is no other cure of envy but the cure of witchcraft; and that is, to remove the *lot* (as they call it) and to lay it upon another. For which purpose, the wiser sort of great persons bring in ever upon the stage somebody upon whom to derive the envy that would come upon themselves; sometimes upon ministers and servants; sometimes upon colleagues and associates; and the like; and for that turn there are never wanting some persons of violent and undertaking natures, who, so they may have power and business, will take it at any cost." Dio, indeed, says, 58, 12, that, after the downfall of Sejanus, "as usually happens, they laid the responsibility for their previous misfortunes upon the dead man and charged the emperor with few or none of them. Of the most of this unjust treatment, they said, he had been ignorant, and he had been forced into the rest against his will."

110, 110. hemlocke: not the tree, but a poisonous plant, *Conium maculatum*. The mandrake is a poisonous plant of the genus *Mandragora*.

110, 114 ff. to thy lusts. The curious may compare Suet., *Tib.*, 42-6, as to the stories in vogue concerning the secret vices of Tiberius. He was thought to have retired to Capri for their more secure indulgence. There is, of course, dispute as to the truth of these allegations. Some scholars, like Tarver and Beesly, regard them as utterly unjustified; but perhaps the soundest view is that of Boissier, *Tacite*, 120, though, to be sure, he is not discussing the point in question, but rather the general problem of the correctness of Tacitus and Suetonius.

111, 123. ease, and pleasure. *Tac. ibid.* [From line 115 on the speech is an almost literal translation of IV, 41, with some rearrangement of ideas.]

112, 10. Compare **141, 219-20.**

112, 15-24. Those are the dreadful enemies. With this passage, cf. Mach, *Disc.*, III, 6: "Debbe adunque un principe che si vuole guardare dalle congiure, temere più coloro a chi egli ha fatto troppi piaceri, che a quelli a chi egli ha fatto troppe ingiure;

perchè questi mancano di comodità, quelli ne abbondano; e la voglia è simile, perchè egli è così grande o maggiore il desiderio del dominare, che non è quello della vendetta. Debbono pertanto dare tanta autorità agli loro amici, che da quella al principato sia qualche intervallo, e che vi sia in mezzo qualche cosa da desiderare, altrimenti sarà cosa rara se non interverrà loro come ai principi soprascritti."

113, 25. **Macro.** *De Macrone isto, vid. Dio. Rom. Hist. lib. 58. pag. 718.* [apparently 9 ff.] & *Tac. Ann. lib. 6. pag. 109. 114. 115.* [29, 46, 47]

113, 29 ff. **that aconite, etc.** Whalley quotes Pliny, *Natural History*, xxvii, 2: "Hoc quoque tamen in usus humanæ salutis vertere; scorpionum ictibus adversari experiendo, datum in vino calido." And Dyce, in his edition of Webster, *Appius and Virginia*, notes use of the same thought:

O my Claudius,

Observe this rule, — one ill must cure another;

As aconitum, a strong poison, brings

A present cure against all serpents' stings.

Plants of the genus *Aconitum* have certain medicinal uses, but they furnish no antidotes.

114, 47. **to depart The citie.** *Suet. Tib. cap. 4.* [a misprint for 40] *Dio. Rom. Hist. lib. 58. pag. 711* [1].

114, 48. **Campania**: the Latin, originally Greek, name of the region in middle Italy bounded by Latium, Samnium, Lucania, and the Mediterranean. Capua, Nola, Pompeii, Herculaneum were contained in it.

114, 51. **Capua . . . Nola.** *Suet. Tib. cap. 40. Tac. Ann. lib. 4. pa. 91.* [57]

115, 80 ff. **thinke, and use thy meanes.** *Cons. Suet. Tib. cap. 65.* [Seianum res novas molientem, quamvis iam et natalum eius publice celebrari et imagines aureas coli passim videret, vix tandem et astu magis ac dolo quam principali auctoritate subvertit.] *et Dion. Hist. Rom. lib. 58. pag. 714.* [Apparently 4, though the reference is not clear, since Dio in that chapter merely points out that Sejanus had Tiberius in the toils and that the latter was perhaps beginning to get suspicious.]

116, 93. **But joy, that he bids me.** *De Macrone, et ingenio ejus, consul. Tacit. Ann. lib. 6. pag. 114. 115.* [46, 47]

117, 114 ff. **He that will thrive in state.** Compare Jonson's fragment, *Mortimer* :

But we
That draw the subtile and more piercing air,
In that sublimed region of a court,
Know all is good, we make so; and go on
Secured by the prosperity of our crimes.
To-day is Mortimer made Earl of March.
For what ? For that, the very thinking it
Would make a citizen start ; some politic tradesman
Curl with the caution of a constable.

117, 116. **wilder.** Whalley desired to substitute "wider."

117, 118. **Mens fortune there is vertue.** An interesting parallel in thought and language is afforded by the sentence "La fortune est la vertu," put by Balzac into the mouth of, I believe, Vautrin, and serving as the nucleus for a philosophy of success quite like that here developed on a less extended scale by Macro. See the article *Leggendo Balzac* by Scipio Sighele, *Nuova Antologia*, 1908, 16th November, p. 177. And for the distinction between public and private morality, see the same article, p. 167, and Villari's *Vita di Machiavelli*, bk. II, ch. 3.

117, 119. **their observance:** i. e., observance of them. What they choose to do is law, and to observe them and regulate one's own actions accordingly, is skill in getting on in the world.

117, 122-4. **the lust of Caesars power.** *Vid. Dion. Hist. Rom. lib. 58. pag. 718. &c.* [These pages merely relate the proceedings of Tiberius against Sejanus, see following acts ; they have no close connection with the present passage, except as Macro's words are descriptive of what Tiberius did with reference to his minister.]

118, 4-7. **Let it be sodaine.** Luc., *Phars.*, II, 14-5 :

Sit subitum, quodcumque paras: sit caeca futuri
Mens hominum fati: liceat sperare timent.

In *The Misfortunes of Arthur*, I, iv:

What shouldst thou fear, that see'st not what to hope ?
where the editor quotes *Paradise Regained*, III, 206. Moreover, see *The City of Dreadful Night*, IV :

But I strode on austere ;
No hope could have no fear.

Perhaps the original is in Arist., *Rhet.*, II, 5: "They have no fear, for they have lost all hope, whereas in order that fear may be possible there must still be some underlying hope of preservation from the evil which causes their agony." (Welldon's translation.)

118, 14. **Choose once to fall.** Cf. Seneca, *De Benef.*, II, v: "Nihil aeque amarum quam diu pendere. acquiore quidam animo ferunt praecidi spem suam quam trahi."

The thought, in one form or another, is one of the common-places of Renaissance reflection; cf. Spenser, *Faerie Queene*, III, 4, 38. The opening lines of this stanza also somewhat suggest l. 9.

119, 21. **Claudia Pulchra.** *Pulchra et Furnius damnat.* Tac. *ibid.* [Afer accused Claudia Pulchra of adultery with Furnius, and of plotting by poison against Tiberius.]

119, 23. **added reputation.** *Afer primoribus oratorum additus, divulgato ingenio,* &c. *ibid.* [Tac., IV, 52.]

119, 28. **cause of raging must forsake him.** An adaptation of Sen., *De Clem.*, I, 8: "Voluntas oportet ante saevienti quam causa deficiat."

119, 36. **some action, like offence.** This suggests Juv., I, 73-4:

aude aliquid brevibus Gyaris et carcere dignum,
si vis esse aliquid.

120, 47. **Tiberius sitting.** Tac. *Ann. lib. 4. pa. 91.* [59. Ac forte illis diebus oblatus Caesari anceps periculum auxit vana rumoris praebuitque ipsi materiem, cur amicitiae constantiaeque Seiani magis fideret. vescebantur in villa, cui vocabulum Speluncae, mare Amunclanum inter et Fundanos montes, nativo in specu. eius os lapsis repente saxis obruit quosdam ministros: hinc metus in omnes et fuga eorum, qui convivium celebrabant. Seianus genu vultuque et manibus super Caesarem suspensus opposuit sese incidentibus, atque habitu tali repertus est a militibus, qui subsidio venerant. maior ex eo, et quamquam exitiosa suaderet, ut non sui anxius, cum fide audiebatur.]

120, 48. **Spelunca.** *Praetorium Suet. appellat. Tib. cap. 39.* [A "praetorium" appears to have been somewhat more splendid than a "villa."]

For the word "sited," Cunningham compares "Above were sited the masquers," from Jonson's *Masque of Queens*.

120, 49. Fundane : from Lat. Fundanus, of or near Fundi, now Fondi, about halfway between Rome and Naples.

120, 58. He hath so fixt himselfe : *Præbuitque ipsi materiem, cur amicitiae constantiaeque Sejani magis fideret. Tacit. ibid.* [See under 47 above.]

121, 68. to exercise Your vertue. Compare Sen., *De Prov.*, 11, where he is proving that misfortune is educational; the good man, he says, "omnia adversa exercitationes putat." And iv: "Non est arbor solida nec fortis, nisi in quam frequens ventus incurSAT. ipsa enim vexatione constringitur et radices certius figit."

121, 4. remove: the reference is to the stages of Tiberius' journey.

122. An Upper Room. The stage-direction is Gifford's; the probability is that Latiaris, Rufus, and Opsius enter upon the balcony that we know to have formed a part of the Elizabethan stage, and that Latiaris and Sabinus in l. 23 enter upon the main stage. If this is the arrangement, however, the action at l. 125 is not easy to comprehend. In any case, if Rufus and Opsius are really placed "between the roof and ceiling," as Tacitus says (see l. 3 and note), it is difficult to see how they can have suddenly "rushed in." It looks as though Jonson, anxious to preserve the language of his authority, failed to see that it was not quite suitable to the stage situation. Tacitus says nothing about any rushing in, but merely states that, after overhearing Sabinus, the spies sent an accusation to Caesar. A solution of the problem is perhaps afforded by Professor Baker's suggestion, *Development of Shakespeare as a Dramatist*, p. 82, concerning the possible existence of a stairway on the Elizabethan stage.

122, 1. a service, great Sejanus. *Sabinum adgrediuntur cupidine consulatus, ad quem non nisi per Sejanum aditus: neque Sejani voluntas, nisi scelere quaerebatur. Tac. lib. 4. pag. 94. [68] Dio. Hist. Rom. lib. 58. pag. 711. [1]*

With some few changes and rearrangements this scene follows pretty closely Tac., iv, 68, 69. The dialogue is considerably expanded, the number of those concerned reduced, and the apprehension of Sabinus, as above suggested, altered in manner. But the principal ideas of the speakers, and the general facts of the situation are well-nigh all, even though briefly, indicated by Tacitus. It does not seem necessary to quote in full.

122, 3. **betweene the rooffe, and seeling.** Tacitus' words are: "tectum inter et laquearia."

123, 12-13. **an observer of his wife, And children.** *Eoque apud bonos laudatus, et gravis iniquis. Tac. ibid.*

123, 22. **Shift to our holes.** *Haut minus turpi latebra quam detestanda fraude, sese abstrudunt; foraminibus & rimis aurem admovent.* [A quotation from Tacitus.]

124, 39. **yea our bed.** *Ne Nox quidem secura cum uxor (Neronis) vigilias, somnos, suspiria matri Liviae, atque illa Sejano patefaceret. Tac. Ann. lib. 4. pa. 92.* [60. Nero's wife was Julia, daughter of Drusus and Livia.]

124, 50 ff. **The Genius of the Romane race.** Machiavelli, in chapter v of *The Prince*, points out with what tenacity the citizens of what was once a republic hold to their ancient notions of liberty, and how the "name of liberty" serves as a rallying-cry for disaffection and rebellion.

125, 53. **Which no good man.** Sallust, *Catilina*, xxxiii: "sed libertatem, quam nemo bonus nisi cum anima simul amittit."

125, 69-74. **'Twere better stay.** This speech of Sabinus, as well as, in a measure at least, that of Silius, 46, 141 ff., is obviously anachronistic, for, as Janet says (*Histoire de la Science Politique*, II, 36), the right of armed resistance was in antiquity uncontested. Indeed, it is flatly inconsistent to represent a Roman of the type of Sabinus, especially considering the ancestral hatred that all Romans bore to the name and institution of king, as imbued with this superstitious reverence for the doctrine of non-resistance. Moreover, throughout the Empire, successful revolution was its own justification, in practice, if not always in theory.

Jonson of course knew these facts well enough, but he was dealing with a more or less difficult subject, considering the well-known views of James I and the events of 1600-1604 (see note on 23, 41). An anchor cast to windward might prove extremely useful under the hard conditions that the times laid upon writers who meddled with politics. It is worth noting that the orthodox political philosophy of the sixteenth century in England contemplated an absolute monarchy as the ideal form of government (see Einstein, *The Italian Renaissance in England*, p. 295); moreover, the doctrine of resistance to authority had often been urged by Puritan writers (see

S. R. Maitland, *The Reformation in England*, Essays v, vi, vii), and Jonson would be careful not to run the risk of agreement with them. It was a doctrine perhaps too closely allied with that of tyrannicide for comfort.

Compare *Timb.*, p. 33: "After God, nothing is to be loved of man like the prince; he violates Nature that doth it not with his whole heart. . . . He is the arbiter of life and death: when he finds no other subject for his mercy, he should spare himself. All his punishments are rather to correct than to destroy."

126, 73. A good man should. Compare 132, 35 ff., and see Crawford's article on *Ben Jonson and the "Bloody Brother," Shakespeare Jahrbuch*, 1905, for a number of interesting parallels, both from that play and from other works of Jonson. I give the closest:

Know yet, my sons, when of necessity
You must deceive or be deceiv'd, 'tis better
To suffer treason, than to act the traitor.

Bloody Brother, 1, i.

Cf. also *Sententiae falso inter Publilianas receptae*, ed. Woelfflin, 381: "Veri boni est pati, non facere iniuriam"; and Sallust, *Jugurtha*, XLII: "sed bono vinci satius est quam malo more iniuriam vincere."

126, 82. his ulcerous . . . face. *Facies ulcerosa, ac plerumque medicaminibus interstincta. Tac. Ann. lib. 18 [sic] pag. 91. [iv, 57]*

126, 83. Rhodes. *Tac. ibid.*

Gifford has the following note: "Whalley observes, that Jonson has confounded two events very distinct in time. The residence of Tiberius at Rhodes took place during the life of Augustus, and he was now at Capua, as the author well knew, and indeed expressly mentions just below. Either this is one of the inadvertencies to which the correctest minds are occasionally subject; or, as I rather think, a line has dropped out, and been subsequently overlooked. Perhaps the passage might have originally stood somewhat in this way:

. . . gives Cæsar leave
To hide his ulcerous and anointed face,
With his bald crown, and ply his secret lusts,
As once he did, at Rhodes, &c."

Had either Gifford or Whalley examined more carefully Tacitus, iv, 57, the difficulty would at once have been explained; for Tacitus, after the passage quoted under 82, goes on: "et Rhodi secreto vitare coetus, recondere voluptates insuerat." That is, in translating more or less literally, Jonson overlooked the pluperfect form *insuerat*, and failed to observe the resulting discrepancy in the matter of time. Nothing, of course, has dropped out. Strangely enough, Gifford adds the passage from Tacitus to Jonson's note without perceiving the true explanation.

126, 84. Upon the heads. Sen., *Ad Marc.*, 22: "quod tacitus ferre non potuerat Seianum in cervices nostras ne imponi quidem, sed escendere."

127, 97. to poyson her. *Tac. Ann. lib. 4. pag. 90.* [54]

127, 101. To worke on Nero. *Tac. lib. eod. pag. 91. 92.* [59-60]

128, 115. him he clasp's. *Tac. ibid.*

129, 133. You doe well. *Tac. Ann. lib. 4. pag. 94. 95.* [70. Sed Caesar sollempnia incipientis anni kalendis Ianuariis epistula precatus, vertit in Sabinum, corruptos quosdam libertorum et peti- tum se arguens, ultionemque haud obscure poscebat. nec mora quin decerneretur; et trahebatur damnatus, quantum obducta veste et ad- strictis faucibus niti poterat, clamitans sic inchoari annum, has Seiano victimas cadere.)]

129, 138. hide his face. Gifford's note is: "Alluding to the form by which a criminal was condemned to death: 'I, lictor, colliga manus, caput obnubito,' etc."

129, 139. Forbear your rude assault: paralleled by "Forbear your rude attempt," in Jonson's *Masque of Hymen*.

129, 2. Your mother, and your brothers. *Tac. lib. 5. pag. 98.* [3]

129, 3. Gallus. *Asinium Gall. eodem die & convivam Tiberii fuisse, et eo subornante damnatum, narrat. Dio. lib. 58. pag. 713.* [3]

130, 7. whose hopes. Tacitus, as above: "donec pauci, quis nulla ex honesto spes (et publica mala singulis in occasionem gratiae trahuntur), ut." . . .

130, 12. Capreæ: it was there that Tiberius had by this time established himself; he did not return to the city after having once left it.

130, 14. your mother is accus'd. *Vid. Tac lib. eod. pag. 94.* [This is a misprint, as Jonson intends to refer to v, 3, as above; Tacitus says nothing about the statue; that comes from] *Suet. Tib. cap. 53.* [Novissime calumniatus modo ad statuam Augusti modo ad exercitus confugere velle. The reader will notice the effect of the Latin sentence structure on Jonson's style.]

The statue of Augustus was of course sacred, though the attempt (Tac., *Ann.*, 1, 73) to surround it with peculiar veneration failed through the good sense of Tiberius. A right of asylum attached to the *living* emperor's image (Greenidge, *Roman Public Life*, p. 355, n. 7); Jonson evidently believed that it belonged to the emperor's image as such.

131, 1 ff. Still, do'st thou suffer heav'n. Compare the beginning of *Catil.*, III, ii:

Cic. Is there a heaven, and gods? and can it be

They should so slowly hear, so slowly see?

where Jonson is making use of Sen., *Phaëdra*, 671-2. Such apostrophes are a commonplace in classical literature. See also a passage in Drayton's *Moon-Calf*:

Where is thy thunder, God, art thou asleep?

131, 9. pull thee by the beard. Whalley quotes Pers., *Sat.*, II, 28:

Idcirco stolidam præbet tibi vellere barbam

Jupiter?

131, 10. black-lidded eye. See the song to Hercules in Jonson's Masque, *Pleasure Reconciled to Virtue*:

Wake, Hercules, awake; but heave up thy black eye,

'Tis only asked from thee to look, and these will die,

Or fly:—

Already they are fled,

Whom scorn had else left dead.

And so Spenser, *Mother Hubberds Tale*, 1228, speaking of Jove,

. . . he vewes, with his black-lidded eye.

One would expect perhaps a classical original for the epithet "black-lidded," but I have not found one. "Black-browed" is often applied to Jove, and "black-lidded" may easily be a natural development of the idea, heavy black brows being thought of as shading and darkening the eyelid.

131, 12. Giant-race. The giants, sons of Earth and Tartarus, strove, by piling Ossa upon Pelion, to scale heaven and dethrone Jupiter, but failed.

131, 16. equall with a prodigie. *Juv., Sat., iv, 96-7:*
sed olim

prodigio par est in nobilitate senectus.

131, 18. Lepidus. *De Lepido isto, vid. Tac. Ann. lib. 1, pag. 6. [13] lib. 3. pag. 60. [35] 65. [50] et lib. 4. pag. 81. [20. See under 89, 155.]*

132, 25. Gemonies. See under 51 below.

132, 27. His faithfull dogge. *Dio. Rom. hist. lib. 58. pag. 712. [1. But Dio says that the dog was thrown into the river, after accompanying Sabinus thus far] et Tacit. Ann. lib. 4. pag. 94. [68-70. Tacitus says nothing about the dog.]*

132, 31. the hooke. See notes on 75, 12, and on 51 below.

132, 36. None, but. *Tac. cons. Ann. lib. 4. p. 80. [20. See under 89, 155 ff. ; it will be noticed that the words of Lepidus are not quite consistent with the historical facts, since, as Tacitus tells us, he enjoyed the constant favor of Tiberius.]*

132, 37-8. Never stretch These armes. Gifford has the following note: "This is from Juvenal, as are many other short passages in this scene; to which Persius also contributes. Jonson seems almost afraid to trust himself out of the classics." See *Juv., iv, 89:*

ille igitur numquam derexit brachia contra
torrentem.

133, 43. In secret . . . or aloud. *Pers., Sat., 1, 119:*

me mutire nefas? nec clam, nec cum scrobe?

and for what follows, compare *Tac., Ann., iv, 69:* "non alias magis anxia et pavens civitas, reticens adversum proximos; congressus, conloquia, notae ignotaeque aures vitari; etiam muta atque inanima, tectum et parietes circumspectabantur."

Cf. *Massinger, Rom. Act., 1, i:*

What times are these!

To what's Rome fallen! may we, being alone,
Speak our thoughts freely of the prince and state,
And not fear the informer?

133, 45-46. Yes, I must. That is : if I pray aloud, I cannot help cursing Tiberius or Sejanus.

133, 51. Gemonies. *Scalae Gemoniae fuerunt in Aventino, prope Templum Junonis reginae a Camillo capitis Veiis, dictum : A gemitu et planctu dictas vult Rhodig. In quas contumeliae causa cada-vera projecta. aliquando a Carnifice unco trahebantur. Vid. Tac. Suet. Dio. Senec. Juvenal.*

133, 53. violent eare. Juv., iv, 86 : "sed quid violentius aure tyranni ?"

133, 54. No place. Cunningham quotes from Pope's *Epistle to Dr. Arbuthnot*, 11-12 :

No place is sacred, not the church is free ;
Ev'n Sunday shines no Sabbath-day to me.

133, 55. most sacred times. The New Year was a sacred period, and it was then that Sabinus was put to death ; Tacitus says, "foedum anni principium incessit," and see *Ann.*, iv, 70, where he enlarges upon the thought that no day, even of the sacred days, was free. So Suet., *Tib.*, 61 : "Nullus a poena hominum cessavit dies, ne religiosus quidem ac sacer ; animadversum in quosdam ineunte anno novo."

133, 57 ff. all occasion pleaseth. See Sen., *De Benef.*, iii, 26 : "Sub Tiberio Caesare fuit accusandi frequens et paene publica rabies, quae omni civili bello gravius togatam civitatem confecit : excipiebatur ebriorum sermo, simplicitas iocantium. nihil erat tutum. omnis saeviendi placebat occasio. nec iam reorum expectabatur eventus, cum esset unus."

133, 64. Laco. *De Lacon. vid. Dio. Rom. Hist. lib. 58. pag. 718. [9]*

134, 72. into Pontia. *Suet. Tib. cap. 54.* Pontia is the modern Ponza, principal island of the Ponza group (see under 77 below) ; it was employed by the emperors as a place of confinement.

134, 75. Drusus. *Suet. ibid.*

134, 77. to Pandataria. *Suet. Tib. cap. 53.* Pandataria (now Vandotena, Ventotena), an island of the group anciently known as Pontiae (now Ponza) in the Tyrrhenian sea not far from Naples, served as a state prison for Julia, Agrippina, and Octavia.

134, 78 ff. Bolts, Vulcan. The blue-eyed maid is Pallas; Alcides is Hercules. The whole passage is an adaptation of Juv., xiii, 78-83:

per Solis radios Tarpeiaque fulmina iurat
et Martis frameam et Cirrhaei spicula vatis,
per calamos venatricis pharetramque puellae
perque tuum, pater Aegaei Neptune, tridentem,
addit et Herculeos arcus hastamque Minervae,
quidquid habent telorum armamentaria caeli.

135, 85. The complement. *Tacit. vid. Ann. lib. 3. pag. 62.* [38. See under 28, 67.]

135, 88. Caesars letters. *Tac. lib. 5. Ann. pag. 98.* [4: simul populus effigies Agrippinae ac Neronis gerens circumssistit curiam faustisque in Caesarem omnibus falsas litteras et principe invito exitium domui eius intendi clamat.]

135, 102. Greeke-Sinon. The compound is a curious one. Sinon induced the Trojans to transport the wooden horse within the city walls, and so deceitfully brought about the fall of Ilium.

136, 105. night-eyed. *Tiberius in tenebris videret. testibus Dion. Hist. Rom. lib. 57. pag. 691.* [2] *Et Plini. Nat. Hist. lib. 11. cap. 37.*

136, 115 ff. monster; forfeited to vice. Juv., iv, 2-4:

monstrum nulla virtute redemptum
a vitiis, aegrae solaque libidine fortes
deliciae.

136, 117. His lothed person. *Cons. Tac. Ann. lib. 4. pag. 91.* [57, describing Tiberius' person. Jonson's language, however, comes from Juv., *ibid.*, 14-5:

quid agas, cum dira et foedior omni
crimine persona est?]

136, 120. an obscure Iland. *Vid. Suet. Tib. de recessu Caprensi. cap. 43. Dio. pag. 715.* [5] *Juven. Sat. 10.* [94: cum grege Chaldaeo.]

136, 122. his rout of Chaldee's. *Tac. lib. Annal. 6. pag. 106.* [21. Quotiens super tali negotio consultaret [i. e., about astrology], edita domus parte ac liberti unius conscientia utebatur. is litterarum ignarus, corpore valido, per avia ac derupta (nam saxi

domus imminet) praeibat eum, cuius artem experiri Tiberius statuisset, et regredientem, si vanitatis aut fraudum suspicio incesserat, in subiectum mare praecipitabat, ne index arcani existeret.] *Dio. Rom. Hist. lib. 57. pag. 706.* [19] *Suet. Tib. cap. 62.* [This is a better illustration of 130 ff. than of this passage.]

The science of the stars had been especially cultivated in Chaldea, and so the term Chaldeans came to be applied to those who practised the arts of divination, more particularly that of astrology.

137, 132-3. that can Devise the deepest tortures. *Suet. ibid. [Tib. cap. 62]*

137, 134. boyes. *Suet. Tib. cap. 44.*

137, 137. Some are allur'd. *Tacit. Ann. lib. 6. pag. 100.* [1] *Suet. Tib. cap. 43.*

137, 143. not left a name. Suggested by Juv., XIII, 29-30:
 quorum sceleri non invenit ipsa
 nomen et a nullo posuit natura metallo.

137, 145. become the ward. *Leg. Dio. Rom. Hist. lib. 58. pag. 714.* [4: but again the language is suggested by Juv., x, 90 ff.:

visne . . . sicut Seianus . . .

 tutor haberi
 principis . . . ?

Compare 185, 285.]

138, 150. and yet will sooner rive. Compare Pers., II, 24-5:

ignovisse putas, quia, cum tonat, ocus illex
 sulphure discutitur sacro quam tuque domusque ?

The idea is almost a commonplace ; see Lucian's *Zeus Cross-examined*, Luc., *Phars.*, VII, 449, and Fulke Greville's *Alaham*, v, iii :

Ah powerfull God ! why do'st thou thunders spend —
 By chance or without vengeance — on the plants ;
 Since it is man, not trees, that doth offend ?

138. Pomponius. *De Pomponio, & Minutio, vid. Tac. Ann. lib. 6. [7 and 8]*

138, 152. These letters. *Dio Rom. Hist. lib. 58. pag. 716.* [6. "Tiberius was no longer uninformed of aught that

concerned his minister. He racked his brains to see in what manner he might kill him, but, not finding any way in which he might do this openly and safely, he treated both the man himself and all the rest in a remarkable fashion, so as to gain an accurate knowledge of their feeling. He sent many dispatches of all kinds regarding himself to Sejanus and to the senate incessantly, saying at one time that he was poorly and just at the point of death, and again that he was in exceedingly good health and would reach Rome directly. Now he would strongly approve Sejanus and again vehemently denounce him: some of his companions he would honor to show his regard for him, and others he would dishonor. Thus Sejanus, filled in turn with extreme elation and extreme fear, was always in a flutter. He could not decide to be terrified and for that reason attempt a revolution, inasmuch as he was being honored, nor yet to become bold enough to attempt some desperate venture, inasmuch as he was frequently abased. Moreover, all the rest of the people were getting to feel dubious, because they heard alternately and at short intervals the most contrary reports, because they could no longer justify themselves in either admiring or despising Sejanus, and because they were wondering about Tiberius, thinking first that he was going to die and then that his arrival was imminent."']

138, 156. One day, hee's well. *Dio. ibid.*

138, 161. This man receives. *Dio. ibid.*

139, 168. Heliotrope: because, like some plants, he turns constantly toward the sun; botanists call the characteristic heliotropism.

139, 170. I cannot tell: a frequent Elizabethan expression, equivalent to "I cannot understand," or "I can't see."

139, 171. New statues. *Leg. Tac. Ann. lib. 4. pag. 96.*
[74]

139, 173. His fortune sworn by. *Adulationis pleni omnes ejus Fortunam jurabant. Dio. Hist. Rom. lib. 58. pag. 714.*
[4. See also 6.]

139, 174. Caesars colleague. *Dio. pag. 714.* [See above.]
Suet. Tib. cap. 65.

139, 178. there are letters come. *Dio. Hist. Rom. lib. 58. pag. 718.* [8]

139, 177. That would . . . Arruntius. Cunningham :

"These two half lines are not found in the folio of 1616, but are added in the folio of 1640. They are essential to the dialogue, and form one circumstance among the many which convince me that the 1640 text of *Sejanus* is deserving particular respect. In the last line but one in this page [l. 191], we have *mixing* (1616) for *mingling* (1640), also an improvement. Gifford little thought that he was following the latter much abused volume." As will be seen from the textual notes, one copy of F does contain these readings. It will be noticed that in every case in which Cunningham has mentioned a reading of F2 in support of his theory (see note on the Motto), that reading is to be found in at least one of the three copies of F that I have examined.

139, 180. **Pollux . . . Hercules.** This is not the place to discuss at length the conclusions denying the palmary authority of the 1616 Folio text arrived at by Van Dam and Stoffel in *Anglia*, xxvi, 377 ff. Their arguments seem to me, however, by no means final, especially as this line with its variant readings appears to furnish well-nigh satisfactory evidence that Jonson in at least one instance did concern himself with the correction of the folio text.

Q, FH, FP, G read :

Pom. By Castor, that's the worst.

Arr. By Pollux, best. (a)

F and the others :

Pom. By Pollux, that's the worst.

Arr. By Hercules, best. (b)

Which is the final reading, and who made the change ?

Clearly, the change was intentional, for no compositor would make the error of setting up Pollux for Castor, Hercules for Pollux, or vice versa.

(b) is the proper, and presumably final reading, for we know that according to Latin colloquial usage the Roman women swore by Castor, the men and the women by Pollux. This fact was overlooked by Jonson in writing the play. Somebody later recognized and corrected the error, with the result that a further change was demanded in the second half of the line, and another common oath took the place of the "By Pollux" of Arruntius.

Such a change, made for such a reason, was made by a man who

had not merely some knowledge of Roman colloquial usage, but also a scrupulous regard for historical accuracy in the use of foreign idiom; are we to look for him in Will Stansby's printing office, about which we know almost nothing, or in a place where we know him already to exist, namely, in the person of the author of the play?

If these remarks are not convincing, they at least indicate that Van Dam and Stoffel should have taken into consideration, not merely variants between the early editions and the 1616 Folio, but also the variants between the various copies of that Folio, before deciding that Jonson had no hand in the proof-reading, and so that it has no great authority in the determination of his text.

139, 181. *Regulus. De Regulo. Cons. Dio. pag. 718. [58, 9]*

140, 185. *His partner. Dio ibid.*

140, 189. *Sejanus footing. Suet. Tib. cap. 65. [Seianum res novas molientem . . . et astu magis ac dolo quam principali auctoritate subvertit.]*

140, 192. *now ill, now well. Dio. pag. 716. [See under 152 above.]*

140, 197. *with his greatnesse, strong. Dio. pag. 714. [4]*

141, 209. *As wholly put him out. Dio. pag. 716. [See under 152 above.]*

141, 215. *Linceus: one of the Argonauts, noted for the strength and keenness of his sight.*

141, 226. *Partner of his cares. Dio, 58, 4: Tiberius "termed him Sharer of his Cares, repeating often the phrase 'My Sejanus,' and publishing the same by writing it to the senate and the people." The phrase, "partner of your cares," occurs in Wilson's *Andron. Comnen.*, iv, i.*

141, 227. *it 'tis prohibited. Dio. Hist. Rom. lib. 58. pag. 718. [8]*

142, 234. *beleeve, what they would have. Sen., Herc. Fur., 313-4:*

*quod nimis miseri volunt
hoc facile credunt.*

142, 236. *without his titles. Dio. Hist. Rom. lib. 58. pag. 718. [8]*

142, 243. Takes he well. *Dio. pag. 717.* [8. But Dio merely says that Tiberius appointed Gaius, or Caligula, priest, and gave hints that the empire would fall to him. There is nothing about an escape of Caligula, for which see preceding scene.]

143, 249. in the Consul-ship. *Dio. ibid.* [8: "The angry favorite would have begun rebellious measures, especially as the soldiers were ready to obey him in everything, had he not perceived that the populace was hugely pleased at what was said in regard to Gaius, out of reverence for the memory of Germanicus his father. Sejanus had previously thought that these persons, too, were on his side, and now, finding them enthusiastic for Gaius, he became dejected. He felt sorry that he had not shown open revolt during his consulship."']

This is the first mention of any actual attempt made by Sejanus; it is characteristic of Jonson that even in such a trivial point he should adhere strictly to his sources.

143, 252. Pagonianus. *De Pagoniano. vid. Tac. Annal. lib. 6. pag. 101. alibi Paconiano.* [3]

143, 258. he ha's a wife. *Tac. cons. Annal. lib. 6. pag. 114.* [45. Jonson antedates this intrigue, placed by Tacitus about A.D. 37.]

143, 261. a learned nose. *Juv. 1, 57:*

doctus et ad calicem vigilant! stertere naso.

143, 262. the rising sunne. *Dio, 58, 28:* "The latter [Macro], as Tiberius was already seriously ill, was paying his court to the young man, particularly as he had before this succeeded in making him fall in love with his own wife, Ennia Thrasylla. Tiberius suspecting this had once said: 'You understand well when to abandon the setting, and hasten to the rising sun.'"

144, 1. Swell, swell, my joyes. It is strictly classical to represent Sejanus as animated by this spirit of extravagant pride just before his fall. Moreover, what Sejanus says is not quite so much in "Ercles vein" as we are at first inclined to suppose (see note on 63, 22). When Sejanus, apparently in the full tide of success, thinks himself a rival of Jupiter, he is after all not going beyond Caligula, who, indignant that a thunderstorm troubled a theatrical representation that he was giving, called out to Jove a line from

Homer — "Strike me, or I strike you." Indeed Jonson is everywhere trying to reproduce, not merely the external, but also the internal life of Rome. As Dryden says of his use of the writings of the ancients, "you may track him in their snow."

144, 3 ff. I did not live, till now. Wilson, *Andron. Comnen.* iv, iii:

Now I can say I live, and not till now.
I've elbow-room enough, and space to breathe.
I can look round me, too. There's not a tree
That stopt my prospect but I've levelled it.

144, 5. Great, and high. *De fastu Sejani. leg. Dion. Hist. Rom. lib. 58. pag. 715.* [5]

144, 7. My rooffe, The following lines contain expressions from Sen., *Thyest.*, 885 ff:

Aequalis astris gradior et cunctos super
altum superbo vertice attingens polum.
nunc decora regni teneo, nunc solium patris.
dimitto superos: summa votorum attigi.
bene est, abunde est, iam sat est etiam mihi.
sed cur satis est? ne quid obstaret pudor,
dies recessit: perge dum caelum vacat.
utinam quidem tenere fugientes deos
possem et coactos trahere, ut . . .

144, 8. my 'advanced head. Hor. *Odes*, i, i, 35:

Quodsi me lyricis vatibus inseres,
sublimi feriam sidera vertice.

144, 10. All my desires. Wilson, *Andron. Comnen.* iv, ii:

And what before
Was even beyond her [Ambition's] wish, being once in power,
Seems low and cheap.

Sen. *De Benef.* ii, 27: "Aequae ambitio non patitur quemquam in ea mensura honorum conquiescere, quae quondam eius fuit inpu-dens votum."

144, 11-12. 'Tis place, Not bloud. *Et Tacit. Ann. lib. 4. pag. 96.* [74. In this we are told how haughtily Sejanus treated the Roman nobles.]

144, 16. Would thou stood'st stiffe. The general idea occurs again in *Catil.*, III, i, when Cethegus says :

It likes me better that you are not consul.

I would not go through open doors, but break 'em.

144, 17 ff. Windes lose their strength. Luc., *Phars.*, III, 362 ff. :

ventus ut amittit vires, nisi robore densae
occurrent silvae, spatio diffusus inani,
utque perit magnus nullis obstantibus ignis,
sic hostes mihi deesse nocet : damnumque putamus
armorum, nisi qui vinci potuere rebellent.

and Tac., *Dialogus de Oratoribus*, 36 : "magna eloquentia, sicut flamma, materia alitur." Cf. Tasso, *Gerusalemme Liberata*, xx, 58 :

Qual vento, a cui s'oppono o selva o colle,
Doppia nella contesa i soffi e l'ira,
Ma con fiato più placido e più molle
Per le campagne libere poi spira.

145, 25-57. Safety, to great Sejanus. This passage is imitated in Wilson, *ibid.*, v, ii :

Enter Stephanus.

Ste. Safety to Cæsar !

The omen to his enemies !

And. What is't

Can need that preface ? Speak !

Ste. A fearful comet

Sweeps the air !

And. Heav'n has done us right at last,

And grac'd our triumphs with its bonfires too !

If otherwise, and there be danger in 't,

'T'as told its errand, and betray'd its end !

These toys astonish more than signify.

Ste. Nor is this all. Men talk as if an earthquake
Had overthrown some houses !

And. 'T'as yet left

The palace standing ! Have you more ?

Ste. The statue

Of your St. Paul drops tears !

And.

Mere change of weather!

Unless, perhaps, the general acclamations
 May've pierc'd its marble with a feeling sense
 Of what we are. Tears are th' effect of joy
 As well as mourning! But I thought my Stephanus
 Had had more wit than to regard these fooleries;
 They're natural, and ignorance of cause
 Must make them miracles. He that regards
 The crowing of a hen, a fox with young,
 Hare, cat, or weasel crossing his way, a snake
 Dropt from the tile, a black dog at his door,
 A left hand magpie, or a right hand thunder,
 Must never sleep! The very peasant, now,
 Can half look through them! — and shall Empire fear them?

145, 26. **Heares not my lord the wonder.** Dryden, in the *Essay of Dramatic Poesy*, says that the prodigies before Sejanus' death are related instead of being brought on the stage in order to avoid "the introducing of things impossible to be believed." He evidently overlooked v, iv.

145, 29. **your statue.** *Dio. Hist. Rom. lib. 58. pag. 717.* [7]

145, 35. **The head.** *Dio. ibid.*

146, 52. **the falling of our bed.** *Dio. lib. 58. p. 715.*
 [5. These various marvels are related.]

146, 54. **expecting clients.** Clients assembled early in the morning at the house of their patron, who regularly held literally a levee. "Expecting" means "awaiting."

147, 55. **running of the cat.** *Dio. pag. 716.* [5. Dio says a weasel.]

147, 59. **The fate of some your servants.** *Dio. ibid.*

147, 62. **your last augurie.** *Dio. ibid.* See Selden's note on a similar enumeration of omens in Drayton's *Polyolb.*, II, 161: "I would not have you lay to the Author's charge a justification of those signs at those times; but his liberty herein it is not hard to justify,

Obseditque frequens castrorum limina bubo :

and such like hath Silius Italicus before the Roman overthrow at Cannæ; and Historians commonly affirm the like; therefore a Poet may well guess the like."

147, 70 f. **Beleeves Terentius.** See *Timb.*, p. 9: "Affliction teacheth a wicked person sometimes to pray; prosperity never."

147, 73 ff. **Or, if they could, they would.** Cf. Plutarch, *Of Superstition*, translation of *Moralia*, edited by Goodwin, I, p. 178: "Mark we now the atheist's behavior here. 'Tis true, he laughs at all that is done with a frantic and sardonic laughter, and now and then whispers to a confident of his, The devil is in these people sure, that can imagine God can be taken with these fooleries." See especially p. 182 and Pers., II, 29-30:

aut quidnam est qua tu mercede deorum
emeris auriculas? pulmone et lactibus unctis?

and 69: dicite, pontifices, in sancto quid facit aurum?

147, 74. **beeves:** a rare singular, erroneously formed from the plural beeves (Cent. Dic. Apparently not noticed in N. E. D.).

148, 83. **One grane.** *Grani Turis Plaut. Paenu[us] Act 1, Scen. 1. Et Ovid. lib. 4. Fast. [409-411]*

148, 85. **her gratefull image.** *Dio. Hist. Rom. lib. 58. pag. 717. [7]*

148, 90. **honny, milke, and poppy.** *De sacris Fortunae, vid. Lil. Gre. Gyr. Synt. 17. Et Stuch. lib. de Sacrif. Gent. pag. 48. [Lilius Gregorius Giralduus, De Deis Gentium libri sive Syntagmata xvii, Lugduni, 1565. Johann Wilhelm Stuck, Sacrorum Sacrificiorumque Gentilium . . . Descriptio . . . Tiguri, 1598.]*

148, 91. **masculine odours.** Jonson has himself explained the term in the notes to *Part of King James's Entertainment in Passing to his Coronation*, as follows: "Somewhat a strange epithet in our tongue, but proper to the thing: for they were only masculine odours, which were offered to the altars, Virg. *Ecl.* 8, [65] Verbenasque adole pinguis, et mascula thura. And Plin. *Nat. Hist.* lib. 12, cap. 14, speaking of these, saith, Quod ex rotunditate guttae pependit, masculum vocamus, cum alias non fere mas vocetur, ubi non sit foemina: religioni tributum ne sexus alter usurparetur. Masculum aliqui putant a specie testium dictum. See him also lib. 34, cap. 11. And Arnob[us], lib. 7, advers[us] gent[es]. Non si mille tu pondera masculi thuris incendas, &c."

149, 4. **The house of Regulus.** *Dio. Hist. Rom. lib. 58. pag. 718. [9]*

149, 2. your edict. *Edicto ut plurimum Senatores in curiam vocatos constat: ex Tac. Ann. lib. 1. [7. See under 71, 190.] & Liv. lib. 2. [?] Fest[us] Pon[peius?] lib. 15. vid. Bar. Briss. de form[ulis] lib. 1. & Lip[sii] Sar[pyra] Menip[pea. Somnium, lusus in nostri aevi criticos. Antwerpiae, 1581.]*

149, 5. proclaim'd. The senate met at specified time and place when convoked by a consul, on occasion by a praetor, or a tribune; and was presided over by whoever called it together. Under the principate, the emperor presided when present; if not present, he acted through the consul or praetor.

149, 6. the place. *Dio. ibid. [58, 9]*

149, 7-8. You doe forget. *Dio. ibid.*

150, 14. I bring you letters. *Dio. ibid.* [But Dio mentions documents sent to the Praetorians only; he does not mention any sent to Laco personally.]

150, 28. Seven cohorts. *De praefecto vigilum vid. Ros[ini] Ant[iquitates] Rom. lib. 7. et Dio. Rom. Hist. lib. 55. [26]*

152, 47. in readinesse. *Dio. Hist. Rom. lib. 58. pag. 718. [9]*

152, 54. We have commission. *Vid. Tac. Ann. lib. 6. pag. 107. [23] et Suet. Tib. cap. 65.*

153. Tubicines. Stage-direction. *Hi omnibus sacrificiis interesse solebant. Ros. Ant. Rom. lib. 3. Stuch. de Sac. pag. 92. Flamen: Ex iis, qui Flamines Curiales dicerentur, vid. Lil. Greg. Gyr. Synt. 17. & Onup [Onofrio] Panvin[io] Rep[ublicae] Rom. Comment 2. [1558]*

It is not necessary to go into a discussion of the antiquities Jonson introduces in this scene; chapter and verse for the details of the sacrifice may be had in De-Marchi, *Il Culto Privato di Roma Antica*, especially pp. 125-44. Jonson seems not to be reproducing any particular author, but constructing what he appears justified in regarding as a typical act or scene of domestic worship. Perhaps it should be said that besides subscribing to the religion of the state, each Roman family had its own family (or ancestral) divinities; in addition, an individual might cultivate a particular deity, just as a Roman Catholic may cultivate a particular saint. Fortune is singled out by Sejanus with especial point because at Vulsinii, his birthplace, particular honor was paid to Nortia, the Etruscan fate-goddess, the equivalent of Fortune. See Friedlaender's note on Juv., x, 74.

A sacellum, properly speaking, was a part of the domicile without a roof and consecrated to the gods (De-Marchi, p. 86).

Coleridge, *Works*, ed. Shedd, iv, 190: "This scene is unspeakably irrational. To believe, and yet to scoff at, a present miracle is little less than impossible. Sejanus should have been made to suspect priestcraft and a secret conspiracy against him." But Sejanus is not so much scoffing at the miracle as he is defying the goddess; and if it is possible that he might have come to think himself equal to divinity (see notes on 63, 22, and 144, 1), we can but consider his action here finely consistent with his megalomania. We need not think Sejanus insane in order to realize that the question belongs to the field of abnormal psychology. For other considerations, see Castelain, p. 581 and note.

153, 1. **Be all profane.** *Moris antiqui erat, praecones praecedere, & sacris arcere profanos. cons. Briss. Ros. Stuch. Lil. Gyr. &c.*

153, 3. **Tub[icines], etc.** *Observatum antiquis invenimus, ut qui rem divinam facturum esset, lautus, ac mundus accederet, & ad suas levandas culpas, se inprimis reum dicere solitum, & noxae penitusse. Lil. Gyr. Synt. 17.*

153, 4. **pure hands.** *In sacris puras manus, puras vestes, pura vasa, &c. Antiqui desiderabant. ut ex Virg. Plaut. Tibul. Ovi. &c. pluribus locis constat.*

154, 6. **your garlands.** *Alius ritus, sertis aras coronare, & verbenas imponere.*

154, 7. **Favour your tongues.** *Hujusmodi vocibus silentium imperatum fuisse constat. Vid. Sen. in lib. de beata vita. [26] Serv[ilium] & Don[atium] ad eum versum. lib. 5 Aeneid. [71] Ore favete omnes, & cingite tempora ramis.*

154, 8. **Great mother Fortune.** *His solemnibus praefationibus in sacris utebantur.*

154, 9. **action.** According to Whalley, Upton wished to read absurdly "Rectress of Antium," in allusion to Hor., *Odes*, i, 35.

154, 12. **Favour it with your tongues.** *Quibus, in clausu, populus vel coetus a praeconibus favere jubebatur. id est bona verba fari. Talis enim altera hujus formulae interpretatio apud Briss. lib. 1. extat. Ovi. lib. 1. Fast. [71] Linguis animisque favete. et Metam. lib. 15 [681-2]*

Piumque

Aeneadae praestant & mente, & voce favorem.

154, 14. **Accept our offering.** *Solennis formula, in donis cuiusvis numini offerendis.*

154, 14. **Flamen takes:** Stage-direction. *Vocabatur hic Ritus Libatio. lege. Rosin. Ant. lib. 3. Bar. Brisson. de form. lib. 1. Stuchium. de Sacrif. et Lil. Synt. 17.*

The milk: *In sacris Fortunae lacte, non vino libabant. iisdem Test[ibus] Talia Sacrificia divina, & νηφαλια dicta. Hoc est sobria, & vino carentia.*

They put: *Hoc reddere erat, & litare, id est propitiare, & votum impetrare: secundum Nonium Marcellum. Litare etiam Mac[robium] lib. 3. cap. 5 explicat, sacrificio facto placare numen. In quo sens. leg. apud Plaut Suet. Senec. &c.*

155, 16. **averts her face.** *Leg. Dio. Rom. Hist. lib. 58. pag. 717. de hoc sacrificio. [7]*

155, 33. **titled and ador'd.** *Tac. Ann. lib. 4. pag. 96. [74]*

156, 34. **sacrific'd unto.** *Dio. lib. 58. pag. 716. 717. [4, 5, 6]*

156, 40. **Minutius.** Stage-direction. *De Minutio. vid. Tac. Ann. lib. 6. [7]*

156, 47. **A rope.** *Dio. Hist. Rom. lib. 58. pag. 717. [7]*

156, 48. **a fierce meteor.** *Vid. Sen. Nat[uralium] Quaest[ionum] lib. 1. cap. 1.*

157, 55. **Send for the Tribunes.** *Dio. pag. 718. [9. Dio merely states that Sejanus usually had a guard of Praetorians.]*

157, 65-6. **dangers . . . worthy my fates.** *Luc., Phars., v, 653-4:*

*credit iam digna pericula Caesar
fatis esse suis.*

157, 67. **And things uncertaine.** *Ibid., ix, 581-3:*

*sortilegis egeant dubii semperque futuris
casibus ancipites: me non oracula certum,
sed mors certa facit.*

158, 71. **I, that did helpe.** *Vid. Tac. Ann. lib. 1. pag. 23. [69]*

158, 72. **Cedar.** The cedar, a lofty, straight-growing tree, was constantly associated with royalty; compare Marlowe's *Edward II*,

11, ii, 15 ff., *Richard III*, 1, iii, 264. Gifford and Koeppel compare Beaumont and Fletcher, *False One*, iv, iii :

I cut the cedar Pompey, and I'll fell
This huge oak Caesar too.

And see Wilson's *Andron. Comnen.* III, i :

Then 'twill be time, and not till then, to hew
Th' imperial cedar.

158, 73-74. at one stroke, cut downe Drusus. *Ann. lib. 4. pag. 74. 75.* [1, 2, 3, 8] *et Dio. lib. 57. pag. 709.* [22]

158, 75. Silius . . . Sabinus. *Tac. lib. 4. pag. 79. Et pag. 94.* [18-19, 68-70] *Dion. Rom. Hist. lib. 58. 712.* [1]

158, 77-78. Cordus, and Sosia, . . . Claudia Pulchra, Furnius. *De Cremutio Cor. vid. Dio. Rom. Hist. lib. 57. pag. 710.* [24] *Tacit. Ann. lib. 4. pa. 83.* [34-35] *De Sosia. Tac. Annal. lib. 4. pa. 94.* [a misprint ; Jonson is referring to ch. 20] *De Clau. & Furnio. quaere Tac. lib. 4. pa. 89.* [52]

158, 78. Gallus. *De Gallo, Tac. lib. 4. pag. 95.* [71] & *Dio. lib. 58. pag. 713.* [3]

158, 80. Agrippine. *De Agr. Ner. & Dru. leg. Suet. Tib. cap. 53. 54.*

158, 82. Caius. *De Caio. Cons. Dio. lib. 58. pag. 717.* [8]

158, 85. I alreadie have done. *Luc., Phars., v, 659-60 :*

licet ingentes abruperit actus
festinata dies fatis, sat magna peregi.

158, 87 ff. The Senate sate. *Ibid., III, 108 ff. :*

privatae curia vocis

testis adest. sedere Patres censere parati,
si regnum, si templa sibi, iugulumque senatus
exsiliiumque petat. Melius quod plura iubere
erubuit quam Roma pati.

158, 94. Caesar, but my second. *Ibid., v, 662 :*

vidit Magnum mihi Roma secundum.

160, 16. divide my selfe : compare the "partitur amicum"
of *Juv., III, 121.*

160, 22. Giving order. *Vid. Dio. lib. 58. pag. 718.* [9. *Sejanus* "was troubled at Tiberius' having sent him no message."]

161, 30. Mineemie : *Dio. ibid.*

161, 33. Macro is without. *Dio. ibid.* [“Encountering Sejanus . . . [Macro] encouraged him, telling him aside and in confidence that he was bringing him the tribunician authority. Sejanus, overjoyed at this, hastened to the senate-chamber.”]

162, 56. He, that. It is characteristic of Jonson that the speaker of this line is himself in the same position with regard to Macro and Tiberius.

162. [Curtain Drawn.] Stage-direction. Gifford and all later editors make a new scene, vi, at this point, and still another, vii, at l. 133, thus giving in all ten scenes to Act v. But the reader will notice that such a division is hardly consistent with the words “To the rest” in stage-direction at 133. If Laco, Latiaris, and others, are to leave the stage at 56, then they must return at 133, and hence their names should be given in the direction; otherwise we do not know who are meant by “rest.” The interview between Sejanus and Macro must accordingly take place either on the inner stage by the drawing of the curtain, or perhaps on the balcony, and Laco, etc., must remain on the outer stage during its progress. This division is at least in accordance with the natural interpretation of the directions, as Gifford’s is not, and with the frequent practice of the Elizabethan stage.

162, 57. Macro! most welcome. *Dio. Hist. Rom. lib. 58. pag. 718. [9]*

163, 59. the noone of night. *Meridies noctis. Varr[onis] Marci por. vid. Non[ium] Mar[cellum] cap. 6. [ed. Lindsay, p. 723].* “This poetical expression, though now common by general use, seems to have been first introduced into our language by Jonson.” (Whalley.) “It was speedily adopted, however, by Drayton, Crashaw, and Herrick. Milton, who resorted to Jonson for poetical expressions upon all occasions, could not miss this.” (Gifford.) Gifford apparently has in mind Crashaw’s *In the Holy Nativity*, Herrick’s *The Suspicion*, and *Il Penseroso*, l. 68. I have not found it in Drayton, but the reader may take, to make up the number, Cowley, *The Plagues of Egypt*, st. 14.

163, 64. That still holds out. *Dio. ibid.*

163, 71. amus’d. “There is a correction of the last word, in the margin of Mr. Theobald’s copy, but it seems not to have

been wrote by him : it is there proposed to read 'amazed'." Whalley.

163, 75. **Charg'd to come here by night.** *Dio. ibid.*

164, 88. **I would no jealous scruple.** *Dio. ibid.*

164, 97. **The tribuniciall dignitie.** *Dio. ibid. Vid. Suet. de oppress[ione] Sejan[i] Tib. cap. 65.* Giving Sejanus the tribunitial power was equivalent to declaring him heir to the throne, as from a constitutional point of view, the emperor's authority rested largely upon it ; the important point was that it carried with it the right of veto and of interference in state business, and made the holder's person sacrosanct.

166, 128. **henge.** This strange expression is of course an adaptation from the Latin. *Cardo*, a hinge, was a technical astronomical term for a pole, or axis, as for example the North Pole. Thus Statius, *Theb.*, 1, 349, "venti . . . axemque emoto cardine vellunt," and Luc., *Phars.*, 1, 552, "cardine tellus subsedit." Evidently some such passage was in Jonson's mind. Cf. Dekker's *London's Tempe*,

Iron, that main hinge on which the world doth turn.

Spenser, *Faerie Queene*, 1, 11, 21 :

Then gin the blustering brethren boldly threat,

To move the world from off his stedfast henge.

166, 134. **Is not my lord here.** *Dio. ibid.* The reference, however, is really to ll. 137-8.

167, 148. **Harpocrates :** generally thought to be the Greek name of the Egyptian god of silence, but sometimes said to have been a Greek philosopher.

167, 154. **Haile, the most honor'd.** *Dio. lib. Hist. Rom. 58. pag. 718. [10]*

168, 162. **The mood is chang'd.** *Dio. Hist. Rom. lib. 58. pag. 715. [5. Dio describes the haughtiness of Sejanus.]*

168, 2. **All Haile.** *Ave matutina vox salutanti propria, apud Romanos. Vid. Briss. de for. lib. 8.*

169, 6. **Stamp't i' your face.** Whalley notes that "much of this speech is copied from Juvenal ;" IV, 73 :

Vocantur

Ergo in concilium proceres, quos oderat ille,
In quorum facie miserae magna sedebat
Pallor amicitiae.

169, 12. more steepe, and grievous. Compare Claud.,
In Ruf., 1, 22-3 :

tolluntur in altum,
 ut lapsu graviore ruant.

169, 24. Sanquinus. *De Sanquinio. vid. Tac. Ann. lib. 6.*
 [4 or 7].

169, 25. his slow belly. *Juv.*, iv, 107 :

Montani quoque venter adest abdomine tardus.

169, 26. another. *Et de Haterio. ibid.*

169, 28. liburnian porters. *Ex Liburnia, magnae, &*
procerae staturae mittebantur, qui erant Rom. Leticarii. Test. Ju-
ven. Sat. 3. vers. 240 —

Turba cedente vehetur

Dives, & ingenti curret super ora Liburno [Liburna].

The Liburni were an Illyrian tribe.

170, 34 ff. It is a note. *Dio. ibid.* [58, 5 : "Any, however, that hold an artificial rank are extremely jealous of all such attentions, feeling them to be necessary to render their position complete. If they fail to obtain them then they are as irritated as if slander were being pronounced against them and as angry as if they were the recipients of positive insult. Consequently the world is more scrupulous in the case of such persons than (one might almost say) in the case of emperors themselves. To the latter it is ascribed as a virtue to pardon any one if an error is committed ; but in the self-made persons that course appears to argue an inherent weakness, whereas to attack and to exact vengeance is thought to furnish proof of great power."] And see De Quincey, in the *Opium Eater* : "With the families of bishops it is otherwise : with them it is all uphill work to make known their pretensions : for the proportion of the episcopal bench taken from noble families is not at any time very large ; and the succession to these dignities is so rapid that the public ear seldom has time to become familiar with them, unless where they are connected with some literary reputation. Hence it is, that the children of bishops carry about with them an austere and repulsive air, indicative of claims not generally acknowledged, a sort of *noli me tangere* manner, nervously apprehensive of too familiar approach, and shrinking with the sensitiveness of a gouty man, from all contact with the *οἱ πολλοί*."

170, 39. As if they were necessities. *Dio. ibid.*

171, 1. shut the temple doores. *Dio. pag. 718. [9]*

171, 5. a noble, bounteous lord. *Vid. acclamation. Senat. Dio. pag. 719. [10]*

See Wilson, *Andron. Commen.*, II, iv :

What say you, gentlemen ? You all confess

He is a noble person ?

Omnes. As ever liv'd.

1 *Cit.* Wise!

3 *Cit.* Bounteous!

4 *Cit.* Valiant !

2 *Cit.* Everything

172, 10. the rector of an I'sle. *Dio. Hist. Rom. lib. 58. 715. [5. " . . . to make a long matter short, he seemed to be the emperor and Tiberius a kind of island potentate, because the latter spent all his days in the island called Capreae."]*

172, 13. We be not slack. *Dio. p. 719. [10]*

172, 18. and get more. *Dio. ibid.*

173, 28-31. is not he blest . . . subtle elbow. Cf. Ariosto, *Orl. Fur.*, XLIV, 97 :

Uno il saluta, un altro se gl'inchina,
Altri la mano, altri gli bacia il piede :
Ognun, quanto più può, se gli avvicina,
E beato si tien chi appresso il vede,
E più chi'l tocca; che toccar divina
E soprannatural cosa si crede.

173, 35. Memmius Regulus. *Vid. Brissonium : de formul. lib. 2. et Lipsium Sat. Menip.* For details regarding the manner of holding and conducting the sessions of the senate, as well as formulae employed, etc., see Willems, *Le Senat de la République Romaine*, II, 144 ff. Jonson's archeology seems to be substantially accurate, though his desire of getting everything into the dramatic picture, so to speak, occasioned at least one apparent error. The proclamation of the herald should have been made outside of the senate-house, for the purpose of summoning the senators, not inside, if I understand Willems, who does not treat the point explicitly. The matter is of no great interest save as illustrating Jonson's artistic ideals.

173, 37. **Palatine.** *Palatinus, a monte Palatino, dictus.*

173, 38. **registered Fathers:** those on the list or roll of senators, in other words, "patres conscripti."

174, 42. **his fine.** It is evident that Shakerly Marmion, in his *Legend of Cupid and Psyche*, II, III, 266-7, had this phraseology in mind. His lines run:

And that whoever had his name i' th' book

His fine, but his excuse should not be took,

there being nothing to correspond with this in Apuleius, *Metamorphoseon*, VI, 23.

174, 45. **Fathers Conscript.** *Solennis praeſatio Consulum in relationibus.* *Dio. pag. 718.* [9. Regulus is mentioned as the consul opposed to Sejanus. For the formulae, see under 35 above.]

174, 53. **The tribuniciall dignitie.** *Vid. Suet. Tib. cap. 65.* [See under 164, 97.]

174, 55. **What pleaseth.** *Alia formula solennis. vid. Briss. lib. 2.*

174, 56. **Reade.** *Dio. p. 719.* [10. "Meanwhile the letter was read. It was a long one and contained no wholesale denunciations of Sejanus, but first some indifferent matters, then a slight censure of his conduct, then something else, and after that some further objection to him. At the close it said that two senators that were very intimate with him must be punished and that he himself must be kept guarded. Tiberius did not give them orders outright to put him to death, not because such was not his desire, but because he feared that some disturbance might be the result of it. But since, as he said, he could not take the journey safely, he had sent for one of the consuls.

"This was all that the composition disclosed. During the reading many diverse utterances and expressions of countenance were observable. First, before the people heard the letter, they were engaged in lauding the man, whom they supposed to be on the point of receiving the tribunician authority. They shouted their approval, realizing in anticipation all their hopes and making a demonstration to show that they would concur in granting him honor. When, however, nothing of the sort was discovered, but they kept hearing just the reverse of what they expected, they fell into confusion and subsequently into deep dejection. Some of those seated near him even

withdrew. They now no longer cared to share the same seat with the man whom previously they were anxious to claim as friend. Then praetors and tribunes began to surround him to prevent his causing any uproar by rushing out, — which he certainly would have done, if he had been startled at the outset by any general tirade. As it was, he paid no great heed to what was read from time to time, thinking it a slight matter, a single charge, and hoping that nothing further, or at any rate nothing serious in regard to him had been made a matter of comment. So he let the time slip by and remained where he was.

“ Meantime Regulus called him forward, but he paid no attention, not out of contempt, — for he had already been humbled, — but because he was unaccustomed to hearing any command given him. But when the consul shouted at him a second and a third time, at the same time stretching out his arm and saying: “Sejanus, come here!” he enquired blankly: “Are you calling *me*?” So at last he stood up, and Laco, who had entered, took his stand beside him. When finally the reading of the letter was finished, all with one voice both denounced him and uttered threats, some because they had been wronged, others through fear, some to disguise their friendship for him and others out of joy at his downfall . . . he conducted the former favorite out of the senate-chamber, and in company with the other officials and with Laco led him down to the prison.”]

175, 61-2. the vertue That could give envie bounds. Claud., *De Consul. Stilich.*, III, 39-40:

Solus hic invidiae fines virtute reliquit
Humanumque modum.

175, 65. If you, Conscript Fathers. *Solenne exordium Epistolar. apud Romanos. cons. Briss. de formul. lib. 8.*

176, 83-6. Nor doe we desire. See under 103, 440.

176, 84. since in a free state. *Vid. Sue. Tib. cap. 28.*
[Sed et adversus convicia malosque rumores et famosa de se ac suis carmina firmus ac patiens, subinde iactabat, *in civitate libera linguam mentemque liberas esse debere.*]

176, 86. lapwing. A bird whose popularity among Elizabethan poets and whose chief characteristic are explained by the following quotation from Middleton's *Old Law*, iv, ii:

Sim. Has the lapwing's cunning, I'm afraid, my lord,
That cries most when she's farthest from the nest.

177, 108. no innocence. Sen., *De Clem.*, 1, 1: "ex clementia omnes idem sperant, nec est quisquam, cui tam valde innocentia sua placeat, ut non stare in conspectu clementiam paratam humanis erroribus gaudeat." In the *Timb.*, p. 39, the same passage is made use of.

177, 111-12. our clemencie . . . but wearied cruelty. Whalley quotes Sen., *ibid.*, 1, 11: "Ego vero clementiam non voco lassam crudelitatem." In *Timb.*, p. 39, Jonson notes Machiavelli's use of a somewhat similar thought: "He that is cruel to halves (saith the said Saint Nicholas) loseth no less the opportunity of his cruelty than of his benefits: for then to use his cruelty is too late; and to use his favors will be interpreted fear and necessity, and so he loseth the thanks."

177, 114. that would interpret, etc. *De hac epist. vid. Dio. Hist. Rom. lib. 58. pag. 719.* [see under 56 above] *et Juven. Satyr. 10.* [71-2: *verbosa et grandis epistula venit a Capreis.*]

178, 133. what wee should say. Ward, *History of English Dramatic Literature*, II, 338, note 1, says: "Objection has, however, been taken, and I think justly, to the perverted application in this letter . . . of the famous exordium of the Tacitean original (*Annal.* vi. 6.) Justly, not because Jonson was debarred from making any use he chose to make of it; but because the bitter force of the real meaning of the words is weakened by the more commonplace use here made of them; the saying was too famous and too characteristic to be introduced in any but its real sense." Ward's language allows it to be inferred that these words stood at the beginning of the letter concerning Sejanus. In reality, they did not do so, but formed the exordium of a much later letter concerning Cotta Messalinus, according to Tacitus, and simply of a letter, according to Suetonius. Both writers practically agree in giving the words as: "Quid scribam vobis, patres conscripti, aut quo modo scribam, aut quid omnino non scribam hoc tempore, dii me deaque peius perdant, quam perire me cotidie sentio, si scio." What their real sense is, may be a question, since Whalley, in objecting to Jonson's use of them, takes them as "evidence of uneasiness and perturbation of spirit in the emperor, arising from the consciousness of guilt," whereas Allen says that they "are certainly no confession of guilt, but may express the weariness of an old man to whom life

was no longer anything but a burden and a disappointment." Gifford, again, agrees with Whalley's interpretation of the Latin, but thinks that "the words which he [Jonson] has adopted are extremely proper for the occasion. . . . How could it escape the critic, that the only passage which gave peculiarity to the quotation from the historian (for the rest is common enough) is, *Dii me deaeque pejus perdant quam perire quotidie sentio*, which strongly marks the intolerable anguish of a guilty mind, and which Jonson has wholly omitted. In a word, he has shewn uncommon skill in the composition of this letter, and entered with matchless dexterity into the cloudy and sanguinary character of Tiberius." Montaigne remarks, III, 8, that he does not see why Tacitus applies these words "si certainement à un poignant remors qui tormente la conscience de Tibere; au moins lorsque j'étois à mesme, je ne le vois point."

179, 154. **Your dancing shewes a tempest.** *Dio. Hist. Rom. lib. 58. pag. 719.* [See under 56 above.]

179, 168. **We would willingly.** *Dio. ibid.*

181, 192. **Haile.** *Dio. ibid.*

181, 207. **Typhoeus:** one of the Giants that sought to dethrone Zeus. He lies now under Mt. Aetna; see note under 131, 12.

182, 219. **P'hlegra:** in Macedonia, where the struggle of the gods and giants was thought to have taken place.

182, 224. **with bayes.** Leaves and garlands of the bay, or laurel, sacred to Apollo, were used on occasions of festivity and rejoicing. The horns of a victim were frequently gilded, whereby the victim was marked off from the common herd. *Leg. Juven. Satyr. 10.* [58-66.

descendunt statuæ restemque sequuntur,
ipsas deinde rotas bigarum impacta securis
caedit et inmeritis franguntur crura caballis,
iam strident ignes, iam foliibus atque caminis
ardet adoratum populo caput et crepat ingens
Seianus, deinde ex facie toto orbe secunda
fiunt urceoli pelves sartago matellae.
pone domi laurus, duc in Capitolia magnum
cretatumque bovem.]

183, 241. **If all the gods.** *Dio, 58, 6:* "For, in view of the way things stood, not even if some god had plainly foretold that

so great a change would take place in a short time, would any one have believed it." And for the following lines, see ch. 11: "Then might one have obtained a clear and searching insight into the weakness of man, so that self-conceit would have been never again, under any conditions, possible. Him whom at dawn they had escorted to the senate-halls as one superior to themselves they were now dragging to a cell as if no better than the worst. On him whom they once deemed worthy of crowns they now heaped bonds. Him whom they were wont to protect as a master they now guarded like a runaway slave, and uncovered while he wore a headdress. Him whom they had adorned with the purple-bordered toga they struck in the face. Whom they were wont to adore and sacrifice to as to a god they were now leading to execution."

184, 246. **superstitious Moores.** Herodotus, iv, 188 (Grant's translation): The wandering Libyans "sacrifice to the sun and moon, but not to any other god. This worship is common to all the Libyans." See also, iv, 184, as well as Strabo, xvii, ch. 11, 3, and Pomponius Mela, i, 8; Jonson might have had any one of these passages vaguely in mind.

184, 251. **And this man fall.** *Dio. lib. 58. pag. 719. 720. &c.* [11, 12. See under 241 above.]

185, 267. **Fortune, thou hadst no deitie.** Juv., x, 365-6:

nullum numen habes si sit prudentia, nos te,
nos facimus, Fortuna, deam caeloque locamus.

The same thought occurs in practically the same language in *Sat.* xiv, 315.

185, 272. **And sought to bring.** *Vid. Dion. Hist. Rom. lib. 58. pag. 720. 721. 722. 723.* [12 ff. I do not quite see the point of this reference; these pages describe the proceedings after the death of Sejanus. Perhaps it is merely the exulting tone of Macro's speech that Jonson is thinking of.]

185, 273. **Caesars tutor.** See note on 137, 145.

185, 283. **that hath saved Rome.** Gifford says: "Here, perhaps, this tragedy originally ended; and here, indeed, is its proper close. What follows is merely tedious, and has more the appearance of a closet exercise, than a dramatic exhibition. All that has passed since the exit of Sejanus, is of uncommon spirit and beauty."

185, 284. **I prophesie.** Dio, 58, 12: “. . . they began shortly after to fawn upon Macro and Laco. They gave them great sums of money and to Laco the honors of ex-quaestors, while to Macro they extended the honors of ex-praetors. Similarly they allowed them also to view spectacles in their company and to wear the toga praetextata at the ludi votivi. The men did not accept these privileges, however, for the recent example served as a deterrent.”

186, 288. **forc'd all mankind.** The phrase suggests the “ex animo extirpatam humanitatem” of Cicero, *De Amicitia*, xiii.

186, 293 ff. **The eager multitude.** Cf. Wilson, *ibid.*, v, viii:

The people,
Having by this time utterly defac'd
Whatever bore his name or memory,
Fell foul of him, or rather he of them!
Had you but seen the hubbub! — One twicks his beard,
Another beats out an eye, a third a tooth,
A fourth cuts off a hand! No cruelty
He e'er commanded but was there again
Epitomiz'd on himself; and when at last
Their tired invention could inflict no longer,
Laden with dirt and obloquies, and crown'd
With garlic, they set him on a scabbed camel,
And in that odd procession led him to
The common gallows, where they hung up that little
They'd left of him! So fell Andronicus!

186, 296. **murmure.** The word “murmur” was undoubtedly suggested by the “secreta murmura vulgi” of Juv., x, 89.

186, 298–99. **devoure the way . . . a new theatre.** Sen., *Herc. Fur.*, 838–9:

Quantus incedit populos per urbes
ad novi ludos avidus theatri.

See, also, Shakspere, *Henry IV*, part II, 1, i — He seemed in running to devour the way; and the French expression “devorer l'espace” (cited by Ellis, after Benoist), which perhaps go back to Catullus, 35. 7 — “quare, si sapiet, viam vorabit.”

186, 302. **Sensitive.** Cunningham, in the ed. of 1875: "So the 1640 folio, and in spite of my theory that its editors had a copy of *Sejanus* corrected by Jonson, I prefer the 1616 reading:

'As if his statues now were *sensitive grown*.' "

But none of the three copies that I have seen of the 1616 folio contains that reading; see note on the Motto.

186, 303. **they teare them down.** *Vid. Juven. Sat. 10.* [See under 183, 224, above.]

186, 308. **The fornace, and the bellows.** Cunningham in edition of 1875, criticizing Gifford's text: "It seems to me impossible that, at such a point of his drama, Jonson could have intended what he is here made to write, viz. that the furnace shall be lighted, the bellows be blown, and *Sejanus* shall crack! How very different is the reading of the 1616 folio:

'The furnace and the bellows *too* shall work
The great *Sejanus* crack,'

where 'crack would mean *utter ruin*, like the *crack of doom*.' " None of the copies of F that I have seen agrees with Cunningham's reading except in the omission of the comma after "work." The difficulty Cunningham raises is done away with when we realize that Jonson is here translating Juvenal's "*crepat ingens Seianus*" (see under 224 above).

187, 311. **the temple of Concord.** *Dio. Rom. Hist. lib. 58. p. 720.* [11]

187, 313. **tread him downe.** *Juv., x, 85-88:*

*curramus praecipites et
dum iacet in ripa, calcemus Caesaris hostem.
sed videant servi, ne quis neget et pavidum in ius
cervice obstricta dominum trahat.*

187, 320 ff. **with confused voyce.** *Juv., x, 67 ff.:*

*quae labra, quis illi
vultus erat? numquam, si quid mihi credis, amavi
hunc hominem. sed quo cecidit sub crimine? quisnam
delator quibus indicibus, quo teste probavit?*
*nil horum; verbosa et grandis epistula venit
a Capreis. 'bene habet, nil plus interrogo. sed quid*

turba Remi ? ' sequitur fortunam ut semper et odit
damnatos. idem populus, si Nortia Tusco
favisset, si oppressa foret secura senectus
principis, hac ipsa Seianum diceret hora
Augustum.

188, 333. **They follow fortune.** *Juv. Sat. 10.* [See
under 320 above.]

188, 339. **Sentence, by the Senate.** *Dio. ibid. [11]*

188, 340 ff. **which was no sooner off.** *Senec. lib. de
Tranq. Anim. cap. 11. Quo die illum Senatus deduxerat, Populus in
frusta divisit, &c.* [See the quotation from Wilson under 186,
293.]

188, 348 ff. **Old men not staid with age.** *Claud., In
Ruf., 11, 427 ff. :*

Vacuo plebs obvia muro
Iam secura fluit. Senibus non obstitit aetas
Virginibusque pudor ; viduae, quibus ille maritos
Abstulit, orbataeque ruunt ad gaudia matres
Insultantque alacres. Laceros iuvat ire per artus
Pressaque calcato vestigia sanguine tingi.

Another parallel, not quite so close, in *Sen., Herc. Fur., 849 ff.*

189, 355 ff. **have ravish'd thence an arme.** *Claud.,
ibid. 410 ff. :*

Hi rabidos vultus et adhuc spirantia vellunt
Lumina ; truncatos alii rapuere lacertos.
Amputat ille pedes, umerum quatit ille solutis
Nexibus ; hic fracti reserat curvamina dorsi ;
Hic iecur ; hic cordis fibras, hic pandit anhelas
Pulmonis latebras. Spatium non invenit ira,
Nec locus est odiis. Consumpto funere vixdum
Deseritur sparsumque perit per tela cadaver.

189, 362. **The whole.** *Claud., ibid., 451 ff. :*

iacet en, qui possidet orbem,
Exiguæ telluris inops et pulvere raro
Per partes tegitur, nusquam totiensque sepultus.

190, 374. **Of whom.** *Vid. Senec. lib. de Tranq. Ani. cap. xi.*

[in quem, quicquid congeri poterat, di hominesque contulerant, ex eo nihil superfuit, quod carnifex traheret.]

190, 380. **The girle so simple.** *Tac. Ann. lib. 5. pa. 99.* [This is the chapter marked v, 9, in book vi. "Placitum posthac, ut in reliquos Seiani liberos adverteretur, vanescente quamquam plebis ira ac plerisque per priora supplicia lenitis. igitur portantur in carcarem, filius imminentium intellegens, puella adeo nescia, ut crebro interrogaret, quod ob delictum et quo traheretur; neque facturam ultra, et posse se puerili verberare moneri. tradunt temporis eius auctores, quia triumvirali supplicio adfici virginem inauditum habebatur, a carnifice laqueum iuxta compressam; exim obliis faucibus id aetatis corpora in Gemonias abiecta."'] *Et. Dion. lib. 58. pag. 720. [11]*

190, 384. **no virgin immature to die.** *Lex enim non tam virginitati ignotum cautumque voluit quam aetati. Cons. Lips. Comment. Tac.*

191, 393. **Apicata.** *Dio. ibid. [11.* "His wife Apicata was not condemned, to be sure, but on learning that her children were dead and after seeing their bodies on the Stairs she withdrew and composed a statement regarding the death of Drusus, directed against Livilla, the latter's wife, who had been the cause of a quarrel between herself and her husband, resulting in their separation. This document she forwarded to Tiberius and then committed suicide. Thus the statement came to the hands of Tiberius, and when he had obtained proof of the information he put to death Livilla and all others therein mentioned. I have, indeed, heard that he spared her out of regard for her mother Antonia, and that Antonia herself voluntarily destroyed her daughter by starving her."']

191, 394. **lie spred on the degrees.** *Cunningham thinks that Massinger must have had this passage in mind in Rom. Act., III, 2:*

'Twould relish more of policy to have them
Made away in private.
. than to have them drawn
To the degrees in public; for 'tis doubted
That the sad object may beget compassion
In the giddy rout.

Scalae Gemoniae in quas erant projecta damnator. corpora.

190, 409. **Livia.** *Dio. Hist. Rom. lib. 58. pag. 720.* [See under 393 above.]

192, 425 ff. **Do'st thou hope fortune.** Claud., *In Ruf.*, 11, 421 :

Criminibusne tuis speras Fortuna mederi
Et male donatum certas aequare favorem
Suppliciis !

192, 427 ff. **Forbeare, you things.** Claud., *ibid.*, 440-1 :

Desinat elatis quisquam confidere rebus
Instabilesque deos et lubrica numina discat.

192, 429. **When you doe fall.** Compare Hor., *Odes*, 11 10, 10 :

celsae graviore casu
decidunt turres.

Juv., x, 106 :

excelsae turris tabulata, unde altior esset
casus et impulsae praeceps inmane ruinae.

Sen., *Herc. Fur.*, 201 :

alte virtus animosa cadit.

Moreover, see further parallels cited by Cook in a note on a passage from Wulfstan's Homilies, *First Book in Old English*, p. 157.

193, 435. **For whom the morning saw.** Sen., *Thyest.*, 613 :

quem dies vidit veniens superbum,
hunc dies vidit fugiens iacentem.

and *Hercules Oetaeus*, 641 :

quos felices Cynthia vidit,
vidit miseros enata dies.

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Glossary

addition, something annexed to a man's name, to show his rank . . . or otherwise to distinguish him (N. E. D.).

admit, permit.

advance, to put forward, make prominent.

affect (Lat. *affectare*), to desire, love; to seek to attain.

affect (Lat. *afficere*), to impress.

affections, passion; love.

afflicting (Lat. *afflictare* ?), tormenting, vexing (46, 155, stimulating by irritation? not in N. E. D. in this sense; see note on passage).

against, in preparation for.

alibe, albeit.

allowance, approval, permission.

ammeld, enameled.

amuse, puzzle.

answer, repay.

apozem, infusion.

applied, plied.

argue, accuse, call in question.

argument, subject, subject-matter.

assurance, certainty of fulfillment.

assure, give assurance of.

at once, see once.

atomi, pl. of Lat. *atomus*, an atom.

attempt, tempt, incite.

audience, reception.

author, performer, actor, instigator.

avoid, remove.

bands, bonds.

bate, abate.

benevolence, good-will.

bill, petition.

brave, fine, excellent.

bravery, fine attire.

bulks, bodies.

by and by, immediately.

can, to know, to have knowledge.

cause (Lat. *causa*, lawsuit, hence metaphorically) conflict, war.

censure, judgment, sentence.

censure, to judge, criticize; to sentence.

century, a division of troops containing a hundred men.

centurion, the commander of a century.

ceruse, a face-wash, cosmetic (see note on 58, 63), formed from white lead.

- choler**, bile (see note on 62, 134).
circumstance, the adjuncts of a fact which make it more or less criminal; or make an accusation more or less probable (N. E. D.).
cirque, circus.
closeness, reticence.
cohort, a division of troops containing six centuries (q. v.).
colour, pretext (see ground).
communicate, share.
compass, crafty contrivance, stratagem.
conceit, fanciful notion.
conceited, fanciful.
confer, gather, bring together.
conferred, compared.
confluence, affluence (? not in N. E. D. in this sense; see note on 19, 4).
correspondence, intercourse.
counter-point, opposite, antithesis.
course, line of action.
cozen, to cheat.
cunning, learned, versed.
curious, solicitous; elaborate, finespun.

decline, depress, degrade; turn aside.
definitions, limitations.
degenerous, degenerate.
degree, step.
delator, spy.
deliver, declare, relate.

delude, mock.
deprave, vilify, calumniate.
deserts, good deeds (hence benefits?).
design, appoint.
designment, planning, purpose.
detract, detract from, depreciate.
dilate, extended.
discern, distinguish, discriminate.
discovery, disclosure.
disprise, prise at too low a rate.
dissolved, lax, negligent (Lat. *dissolutus*, not in N. E. D.; see note on 83, 37).
doubtful, suspicious.
drifts, purpose; plot.
during, enduring.

easy, pliable.
election, choice, selection.
enforce, to force out; to offer force to.
engine, trickery; plot; machine.
engineers, plotters.
entertainment, maintenance, pay.
envy, jealousy.
equal, just, impartial.
errant, arrant.
even, exactly.
event, fate.
exact (Lat. *exigere*, to calculate precisely), estimated,

weighed (not in N. E. D.).

exampless, without example, example-less (apparently unique).

examplimg, serving as example.

expect, await.

expectance, expectation.

expiscation, investigation, searching out.

express, represent.

expulsed, driven out.

fact, deed; evil deed.

fain, necessitated (originally glad).

faint, give way, flag.

fairly, fully.

faith, authority; loyalty.

fathers, patricians.

fautors, favorers, adherents.

favor your tongues, see note on 154, 7.

fear, frighten.

flamen, priest.

foil, whatever sets off (usually by comparison or contrast).

fond, foolish.

forth, out of.

forward, ready, prompt.

free, innocent; noble.

frequent, thronged. But *senatus frequens* (frequent senate)

seems to have been a technical term roughly equivalent to our "quorum" (Willems, *Le Senat de la République Romaine*, II, 165).

frequently, numerously, in great numbers.

fruition, enjoyment.

fucus, a face-wash.

funerals, funeral ceremonies.

gat, got.

giglot, a wanton.

gin, begin.

give, report; import, signify.

grace, graciousness.

grandam, grandmother.

gratify, to oblige, do a favor.

grief, disease, ailment.

ground, in painting . . . a main surface or first coating of colour, serving as a support for other colours or a background for design (N. E. D.).

happily, haply, perchance.

head, fountainhead, spring.

hecatomb, a sacrifice of a hundred oxen; a great sacrifice of animals.

impose, to place upon.

impotence, ungovernable passion.

improve (Lat. *improbare*, to condemn, *improbus*, bad), vitiate (? not in N. E. D.; see II, 127).

informed, made known to.

ingine, see engine.

inginers, see engineers.

instructed, furnished.

- interdiction**, authoritative prohibition.
- interest'd**, interested.
- intergatory**, interrogatory.
- jealous**, suspicious.
- jealousy**, suspicion.
- kalends**, the first day of the month.
- kind**, nature.
- laid**, planned.
- let**, hindrance, obstacle.
- lictors**, an attendant upon a Roman magistrate, carrying the fasces.
- lose**, waste.
- lust**, ungovernable passion (for calumniating; opposed to license; see 103, 443).
- magistral**, having sovereign remedial qualities.
- make**, prepare for the business (N. E. D.), gain over; — a leg, to bow; — up, to repair by filling up gaps.
- mark**, character.
- mean**, a middle path, moderation.
- modesty**, moderation.
- moile**, mule.
- ne**, nor.
- noise**, a band of musicians.
- note**, a mark, stigma.
- numerous**, metrical, rhythmical.
- objected**, brought forward as a ground or reason.
- obsequies**, obedience.
- observance**, observing, noticing; respect.
- observe**, to pay court.
- observer**, one who pays court.
- offence**, disfavor, hatred.
- offer** (or **offer at**), to attempt, strive after.
- office**, exercise, discharge (not in N. E. D.; see 48, 183); service, duty.
- once**, once for all; at once, together.
- open**, disclose.
- oppress**, suppressed, crushed.
- parted**, distributed, parted out.
- particular**, special; private.
- pash**, to dash in pieces.
- pathic**, a catamite.
- peculiar**, particular, individual.
- perishing**, injurious, destroying.
- policy**, statesmanship.
- poll**, plunder.
- popular**, to or of the people as distinct from the nobility or patricians.
- practice**, treachery; plot.
- practise**, to plot, scheme.
- prætorian**, of or belonging to the imperial bodyguard, which served also as a garrison for the city.
- present**, instant, immediate.
- presently**, immediately.

- prevent**, anticipate.
prime, chief.
private, personal interest or business.
produce, draw out, prolong.
profess, state openly.
promptly, frankly.
proof, test.
proper, peculiar to, one's own.
property, function, use; any article for stage use.
prosperous, of good omen.
prove, to test.
put on, incite.

rector, ruler.
rectress, female ruler.
recure, recovery.
reflect, turn back.
religious, having formal or official connection with the worship of a divinity; scrupulous.
renown, renown.
resolve, relax.
respect, to have respect to.
respect, scruple, consideration.

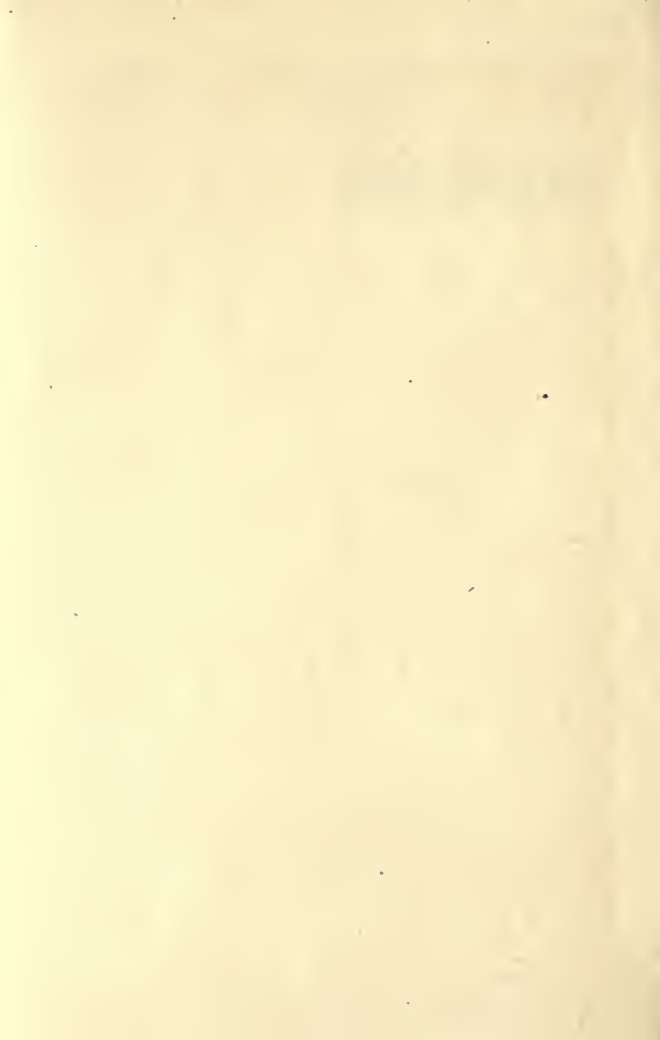
satisfaction, compensation.
satisfy, compensate, make amends for.
say, assay.
scrupulous, precise, punctilious.
secure, careless.
security, carelessness.
sellary, a lewd person.
sensibly, sensitively.

sestertia, pl. of Lat. *sestertium*, a thousand *sestertii*.
settle, to become fixed or established.
shittle, shuttle.
siege, stool.
silly, innocent.
sincere, pure, genuine.
slighten, to make slight.
slight, craft.
spintry, a male prostitute.
stain, blot, blemish.
stalled, forestalled.
state, estate; rank, dignity; reasons of state.
still, always, constantly.
store, a plenty, large number (hence rest?)
strook, struck.
study, zeal; plan.
suffrage, approval.
suspected, suspicious.

take, to take a liking; take effect; take to be.
temper, moderation.
then, than.
through, thoroughly.
tibicines, pl. of Lat. *tibicen*, a fluteplayer.
toys, trifle; whim.
tract, course, track.
train, stratagem.
tribune, one of the six serially commanding officers of a Roman legion.
triumph, a triumphal procession through the Roman

- streets, accorded, usually, to a commander who had been conspicuously successful in the field.
- tubicines, pl. of Lat. *tubicen*, a trumpeter.
- tyranne, tyrant (the regular form throughout the play).
- uncouth, unknown.
- unkind, unnatural.
- unkindly, unnaturally.
- untrain'd, unaimed (but note the pun; see train).
- vervin, verbena, a plant pos-
sessed of religious associations among the Romans.
- vexation, shaking.
- virtue, capacity (cf. Ital. *virtu*, that quality in a man whereby he succeeded in his undertakings).
- voice, word; reputation.
- want, lack.
- wit, knowledge, intellect.
- without, beyond.
- woodness, madness.
- wreak, vengeance.
- yet, still.





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